

The Social Studies

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Let's Educate for Politics

FRANK MEYER

*Social Studies Department, Junior High School,
Grand Haven, Michigan*

A recent opinion poll of parents indicated that 70 per cent do not want their children to go into politics. Only three parents out of ten desire their sons or daughters to have anything to do with political affairs.¹ This indicates a dangerous trend in American thought, a serious cancer in the body politic. It may be due to a simple lack of understanding on the part of adults, or it may result from the connotation which has shaded the word, "politics." In either case it presents a challenge to American educators. It means that through both the regular curriculum and special adult courses the responsibilities of practical citizenship in a democracy must be instilled in our people. The importance of the individual's duty must be so real to him that he actively participates in political affairs on the local level as well as showing interest in state and national problems.

Too long have educators been satisfied only with teaching democracy; it's now time to teach politics. As they have interpreted the theory of democracy and explained its advantages, they must now so interpret politics that students understand the word in its first and best meaning. As they have made their students lovers of democracy, they must now create in them a more healthy attitude toward politics. For only through politics is democracy realized.

Young people and adults must be interested in politics. A democratic or republican form

of government presupposes a popular interest and participation in the management of public affairs, in the direction and operation of political parties, and in checking on government officials. To leave these responsibilities to a few encourages "boss rule," legislation by minorities, and rule by pressure groups. It leads to oligarchy and finally to dictatorship. Thus to despise politics is to invite ruin for the American system and is a real "un-American activity." Parents who discourage a child's interest in politics discourage the building of a strong government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Teachers who do nothing to encourage participation in politics, local, state, and national, are doing no less.

Teachers must, by means which their own ingenuity can devise, get across to their students on all levels and in all classes the following conceptions:

(1) All politics is not "dirty." Politics is necessary, clean, and good, and may be made "dirty" only by sordid politicians.

(2) Most men in public life are honest and sincere servants of the people who try to the best of their ability faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective offices.

(3) The legislator who suggests a compromise on a given question or who is willing to compromise his position is not necessarily a spineless creature. He is doing his duty as a representative of the people. He must listen to all the arguments on all sides; he must con-

¹ *Michigan Survey Newsletter*, November 30, 1944.

sider all the demands by all interested groups, and then effect an agreement which will promote good for the greatest number.

(4) To vote is not sufficient. To vote intelligently is more important. The slogan, "Vote Today," or a campaign to "Get Out the Vote," cannot be praised. Better government demands better quality, not greater quantity of thought at the ballot boxes. Citizens who have not thought about voting until election day had better remain at home.

(5) A citizen of the United States has a *duty* to be as well informed as possible on all public affairs. He must read and study, listen and think, and speak about problems of government. He must then act to make his influence felt.

(6) Legislators and other officials want to know the opinion of their constituents on public questions. They welcome letters from citizens who write because of an interest as citizens, and not because some special group has inspired an avalanche of letters and telegrams.

(7) The good citizen not only obeys the law and pays his taxes, but also welcomes jury service, appointment to boards and commissions, and work on civic committees. He is willing to make personal sacrifices in order to serve his community.

(8) Further, he participates in politics, running for office, giving his time and talents to political affairs. He works in the party organization and is willing to do some of the "foot-work of practical politics." Too long the *good citizen* has sat on the sidelines, cheering or booing the players on the field. He must become a participant.

(9) The local office-holders are performing an important service for their country. One should not despise these offices or officers. They serve as well as those charged with operating the state or national government. It is in the local community that the average citizen can be most effective in politics.

(10) Finally, this principle operates in all spheres of life, "With rights and privileges go responsibilities." Our right of self-government demands work in politics. We cannot shirk the duty and maintain the right.

To educate further for politics, schools and teachers may utilize many of the following projects:

(1) Throughout all his years at school the pupil should be given much practice in speaking before a group. His influence with his group is generally in proportion to his ability to express himself before it. Most adults wish they had developed this ability early in life.

(2) Debates, panel discussions, "town meetings," open forums, and such devices should be used often to teach their techniques and develop interest in public questions.

(3) The study of current events, controversial issues, and real practical problems of politics should be greatly encouraged. Schools will never educate for politics by refusing to go outside the textbook. Interest in these things is not developed without knowledge of them.

(4) Students should be given experience in formulating opinions on these problems and in many cases in expressing their thoughts to their representatives. They may write to Representatives and Senators. Students may speak before local councils or boards on matters of concern to young people. Members of the Grand Haven Junior High School Student Council recently appeared before the City Council to protest a proposed curfew ordinance.

(5) Class excursions, seriously planned and executed, should be made to all possible government agencies and buildings and to many political gatherings. Students should visit the jail, a session of court, a meeting of the city council, or village or township board, the city hall and court house, the polls on election day, the state capital, local party conventions and the rallies held before elections.

(6) Boys and girls should learn the principles of parliamentary procedure and be given much practice in their use. This may begin in the early years of the elementary school.

(7) The school should avail itself of all means for student participation in school control to give experience in democratic living and in practical politics.

(8) High school students should be encouraged to participate in politics even though they are not voters. They may distribute campaign literature, attend political meetings, and speak before groups to discuss candidates or issues. A few years ago a number of seniors in a nearby high school campaigned actively for their principal, a candidate for the state legislature.

(9) Teachers themselves must be actively interested in politics. They cannot be opinionless academics any more than they may be opinionated propagandists. They must be examples of the truly good citizen if they would educate for politics. They should accept public office if offered them, or campaign for the opportunity to serve in such a capacity. If not at all desiring the office themselves they must be among those supporting the man most capable for the position. They should practice all the principles outlined here as necessary for those who wish to be "educated in politics."

(10) The school should sponsor such adult education courses as would interest out-of-school citizens in political affairs. Lectures,

forums, and discussion groups all help. Classes in public speaking and current problems have proved popular. Schools may sponsor public meetings at which elected representatives, especially legislators, can report to the people on their activities and problems. Under impartial auspices the people as citizens, and not as members of a special group, could then hear and question their officials who could speak as officers and not as party leaders. Schools can also sponsor public meetings prior to elections at which all candidates may explain their qualifications and platforms to the voters. In all this the school would be expending its services in education for politics.

Assembly Film Programs

FRANCES NORENE AHL

Glendale High School, Glendale, California

For years many high schools have been using different types of films in their assemblies. But few schools have well-planned assembly programs of educational films centering around any particular theme or subject. Probably such programs can be made most effective when outlined for a semester or even a year in advance.

One very satisfactory scheme is to select pictures commemorating national holidays and heroes or calling attention to outstanding national problems and interests. October's program is logically built around Discovery Day. Perhaps the two best pictures available for this occasion are *In Old Spain* (10 min., sd.) and *Introduction to Haiti*. (11 min., sd., color.)

Having just emerged from a great global conflict, it is well to pause on Armistice Day to contemplate why peace failed after World War I and how we can build an international organization that will avert another world tragedy.

The League of Nations (8 min., sd., March of Time, 1938) is one of the best documentary films available on European politics from the Versailles Conference to the outbreak of World War II. It is excellent for tracing the rise and decline of the power of the League. With it

might be shown the documentary account of the world's effort and cooperation to win the recent war and establish peace entitled *The Peace Builders*; or the film, *Watchtower over Tomorrow*, produced by the War Activities Committee of the Motion Picture Industry. An outstanding portrayal of the efforts of our nation to avert a third world conflict, it relates the episodes and events which culminated in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and the San Francisco meeting.

Again, for the November assembly one might show a picture on Germany, such as *Inside Nazi Germany* (16 min., sd., March of Time, 1938) which reveals living conditions in Nazi Germany, the operations of the German propaganda machine, and the German-American Bund activities; or the film *Our Enemy—The Japanese* (20 min., sd., OWI, 1943). The latter gives an insight into the regimentation of the Nipponese for one sole purpose—world conquest, and shows how complete and total defeat is necessary if there is to be universal peace.

December 15 is Bill of Rights day. Either the film *Servant of the People* (21 min., sd., MGM, 1937) or *The Bill of Rights* (20 min., sd., Warner Bros., 1939) should develop an

appreciation of the Constitution and the men who drafted it.

Today, perhaps more than ever before, our attention is being directed to the need for teaching inter-racial intercultural understanding. January's program might well be given over to a film such as *The World We Want To Live In* (10 min., sd.), which raises its voice against all racial and religious intolerance; or *One Tenth of Our Nation* (30 min., sd.) which makes a strong plea for fair treatment of the Negro in American life; or *The Negro Soldier* (45 min., sd., OWI). The latter film chronicles the significant contributions of the Negro to the development of the United States from the War of Independence to the present day. It is an outstanding film for a program that seeks to build better intercultural and racial relationships.

The month of February affords two especially good opportunities for assembly film programs. For Lincoln's birthday one may select such a film as *The Perfect Tribute* (20 min., sd., MGM, 1935) a dramatization of Mary Shipman Andrews' story, or *Lincoln in the White House* (21 min., sd., color, Warner Bros., 1939). *George Washington's Virginia* (40 min., sd., color) is perhaps the best film, for assembly purposes, on the founder of our republic.

One of our biggest problems still is the task of conservation. Conservation is a vital weapon of war; it is also a weapon of peace and world rehabilitation and reconstruction. We are recognizing today as never before that we must use our resources—soil, water, mineral, forest and the like—in the most efficient way possible.

A number of states have adopted the practice of setting aside a week in March as Conservation Week, for March is the month of Luther Burbank's birthday. Both the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Interior have released from time to time a number of good films showing the extent to which our resources have been exploited, emphasizing the need for conservation practices and indicating the conservation activities conducted by various government bureaus and agencies. A 1944 release by the Department of Agriculture, *Food and Soil* (10 min., sd., color), is especially timely.

An original documentary film, *World of*

Plenty (45 min., sd., BIS, 1943), presents the many phases of the food problem—production, distribution, wartime conservation and control, and postwar planning.

Many excellent films released by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and available through the local Inter-American center or the local agency distributing CIAA films furnish such an abundance of varied material for a Pan-American program that one hesitates to suggest any particular picture. But certainly the documentary film, *The Bridge* (32 min., sd.), produced in cooperation with the Foreign Policy Association is a "must" on every high school calendar. It shows the many social and economic problems of the various South American countries, the effect of war upon these problems and suggests that the bridge of the air will do most to modernize the remote, inaccessible regions of the southern continent. It is one of the finest attempts yet made to teach international understanding.

A final program in May offers a splendid opportunity to point up two of the biggest problems facing our nation today—problems that, as a result of the worst war in all history will continue to face us for several years to come, namely, the problems of industrial reconversion and postwar jobs. These subjects are graphically portrayed in two films, *The Aftermath of War Production* (17 min., sd.) and *Jobs After Victory* (17 min., sd.), recently released by the Automotive Council for War Production.

Again, the calendar for assembly films, might take as its theme the United Nations. Abundant good film material is available through the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, the United Nations Office (610 Fifth Avenue, New York 20); The British Information Services (30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20); The Film Board of Canada (84 East Randolph Street, Chicago 1); France Forever (587 Fifth Avenue, New York 17), etc.

Or one may work out a year's program that will represent as many different department interests as possible. Students in art will not only enjoy Disney's *South of the Border*, but they will marvel at the beautiful coloring and superb photography in *Steel, Man's Servant*, a film that ordinarily would be considered of prime value for students in science, social

studies, and mechanical arts. Likewise, they will gain inspiration for the construction of new designs and figures.

Films especially requested by the Foreign-Language Department are often of almost equal value for students in English and world history. If well chosen, films can be presented that will meet the wish of a particular subject

field and at the same time have enough general appeal to hold an entire student body.

It is not the expectation or dream of the author that any one school will adopt all of the suggestions or use all of the films mentioned in this article. But she does wish to go on record as making a strong plea for well-planned assembly films programs of the highest type.

The League Revived and Revised

E. W. THORNTON

*Chairman, Department of History and Government,
Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee, Oklahoma*

The United Nations organization is essentially the old League of Nations brought to life again with a few changes. But those changes are basic ones. Although the architects of the new league avoided the use of terms reminiscent of past failure, substituting, for example, "United Nations" for "League of Nations," "Security Council" for "Council," and "Charter" for "Covenant," nevertheless it is a resurrected organization. Therefore, a comparative study of the two plans against the background of the pre-League era should prove helpful.

The League of Nations emerged as a substitute for the Concert of Europe, which had failed to keep the peace. Until the First World War there had been two chief deterrents to war, the balance of power system and international law. Of these, the former was the older and more potent influence. It functioned mainly within the circle of the Great Powers acting through an informal arrangement known as the Concert of Europe. If the peace were threatened, an international conference would be called, the balance of power would be adjusted among the Powers, the war averted for the time being. Such settlements were generally made at the expense of the smaller nations; always the vital decisions were made by the Great Powers. While the system was clumsy, frequently unjust, and finally broke down, the Concert of Europe managed to keep the world in comparative peace for a full century. There was no general "world war" from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 until the day when Sir Edward Grey found it impossible to call another emergency confer-

ence and World War I began. The balance of power with its agent, the Concert of Europe, did not constitute a "system" in the sense of anything planned or fashioned by men. It was a set of relationships which had developed naturally in response to the existing condition of world politics, a world of sovereign states recognizing no law above themselves.

Meanwhile a second set of principles had been growing up alongside the power system. It may be likened to the growth of human justice in society in earliest times as man gradually threw off the law of the jungle. So also in the modern era, the idea of law rather than crude power as a basis of international relations gained acceptance. International law and diplomacy, therefore, became interwoven with power politics in international affairs. While the former was often used to clothe the harsh decisions based on naked power, yet the principles of law and justice enjoyed more than lip service. They served as a restraint to unchecked selfish power. They were finally embodied in the League of Nations and were expected to supplant the principle of crude power. Thus it was, as stated above, that the League was designed to take the place of the Concert of Europe in keeping the peace.

How did the League differ from the Concert of Europe? In the first place it was to be a permanent organization rather than a mere crisis agency. It was expected to nip the crisis in the bud because it could take cognizance of disputes before they should reach the critical stage. Again, the League was based on the principle of democracy among the nations to a much

larger extent than power politics had ever been. The Assembly of the League was thoroughly democratic while the Council was partly so in that several small nations were given seats along with the Great Powers. But by the granting of permanent seats in the Council to the Great Powers *the old Concert of Europe was effectively incorporated in the new organization*. Nevertheless it had to function under authority, not as before, in a vacuum of international anarchy. Finally, the League differed from the former haphazard arrangements in that its members were pledged to work for collective security rather than continue the principle of every nation for itself. The entire machinery of the League was built around this concept, including the World Court. Article XIX provided for peaceful change, and the procedure for preventing aggression by co-operative economic sanctions.

In spite of such epoch-making advances, however, the League of Nations still retained the central characteristic of the age of power politics. National sovereignty remained intact. The League was a confederation based on a treaty (Covenant), not a constitution. The vital decisions were not made at Geneva but at London, Paris, Rome, Moscow. Thus, regardless of its machinery for peace, the League depended for its success fundamentally upon the good faith of the member states. When the good faith ran out the machinery also failed to work. The failure of the League of Nations was due to those two causes: the lack of good faith and the breakdown of the machinery for preserving peace.

How does the new Charter of the United Nations propose to correct those two basic weaknesses of the League? As to the first one, the Charter does not differ in the least from the League Covenant. As it was in the League, so now in the United Nations, cooperation and good faith rest, in the final analysis, on a voluntary basis. The only alternative would mean a surrender of national sovereignty. By analogy, the local police court does *not* depend on the "good faith" of the citizen for the maintenance of law and order because the individual has surrendered his personal sovereignty; he will be forced to keep the peace regardless of his personal desires. But since the world apparently is not ready for the surrender of national

sovereignty, world peace still depends on the voluntary cooperation of the nations. When the Charter states as its very first principle "the sovereign equality of all its members," logic requires also the second principle as there stated: "all members . . . shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them . . ." It is thus recognized that the machinery of the organization will avail little if good faith does not prevail, at least among the leading powers.

The necessity of good faith was also underscored by various analysts in their discussion of the voting procedure in the Security Council. It will be remembered that this question caused a great deal of concern during the framing of the Charter, the Soviet delegation insisting on the right of veto by any of the Great Powers. But the question came to be viewed by many as more or less irrelevant. If the Great Powers seriously disagree on a vital issue, it was argued, of what use is the veto power, or a lack of it? Good faith has already vanished; hence no amount of organizational perfection will avail. In other words, the retention of full sovereignty by each nation, with power of individual decision, naturally cancels such academic restraints as a veto in a council. In this fundamental respect, therefore, the United Nations does not differ from the old League, save as the situation is more frankly recognized today, both in the Charter and by public opinion. It may well be that such realistic frankness may do much to prevent a disillusionment of public opinion, upon which international good faith so strongly depends.

The second basic weakness of the League, the *machinery* for peace, was made the subject of important revision in the Charter. The chief difference from the League Covenant lies in the arrangements for the use of force to maintain peace and security. The Ethiopian affair in 1935 revealed decisively the need for greater police authority by the League of Nations. It became evident in that crisis that if economic sanctions were carried out completely as provided for in the Covenant Mussolini would resist by force and would probably receive aid from Hitler. The Hoare-Laval agreement, embodying full concession to Mussolini, resulted in the collapse of the League of Nations. The architects of the new league have tried to avoid the possibility of another Hoare-Laval

deal. Chapter VII of the Charter provides for economic sanctions as before, but follows them up with elaborate arrangements for the application of military force against an aggressor. If one would know the central characteristic of the United Nations organization, and also its chief difference from the League of Nations, let him examine Chapter VII of the Charter. Here are the "teeth" which the League lacked and by which it is hoped to avoid the breakdown of peace as in 1935.

It is true that the League Covenant also contained at least the suggestion of military force. It provided that the Council should recommend to the governments of the member states what military force they "shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League." But there was nothing to implement that authority or make it more than a mere recommendation. In sharp contrast the new Charter empowers the Security Council with authority to call out armed forces which will have been placed at its disposal by special treaties with the various member nations. Some of these forces are to be made "available to the Security Council, on its call," while others, the air-force contingents, are to be held "immediately available" for action. The general staffs of the Big Five, under which the United Nations have waged the present war, are to be projected into the post-war era as the Military Staff Committee, responsible for such military action as the Security Council may decide upon. Thus the new organization will be invested with military police power, the scope of which was not dreamed of in the days of the League of Nations.

Another fundamental difference between the United Nations and the League of Nations consists in the centralization of power and responsibility in the Security Council, which in turn is dominated by the Great Powers. The working model of the Charter was made at Dumbarton Oaks where only the Big Five were represented. While some concessions were made at San Francisco to smaller nations, the vital authority remains essentially intact within the Security Council on which the five Great Powers have permanent seats.

It is also true that under the League of Nations virtually all the real power, as far as any

existed, was exercised by the Council. But while the Assembly of the League was given little real power by the Covenant, that document was so worded as to leave opportunity for the Assembly to assume power and to grow toward responsible authority. The United Nations Charter, on the other hand, is excessively rigid in that respect. Chapter IV, defining the function and powers of the General Assembly, is replete with such expressions as "may consider," "may discuss," and "may recommend," but niggardly in its grant of power to act.

In the vital matter of maintaining peace, the *raison d'être* of the organization, the General Assembly may make recommendations, but "any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly." Indeed, the business of keeping the peace is to be the "primary responsibility" of the Security Council, and all members must agree in advance that in this respect "the Security Council acts on their behalf." The Security Council is to be in session continuously whereas the General Assembly will meet only once a year unless a majority of the members demand a special session. With the dominant position of the Great Powers thus firmly established, and strongly reinforced throughout the document, it is apparent that the new Charter has registered a trend already evident in world affairs, back toward the power politics of the pre-1914 era.

Thus a new "Concert of the World" emerges in place of the old Concert of Europe. True, it will function within the framework of the organization, but with almost as much freedom as its proto-type of the nineteenth century. We are told that it is necessary to place power along with responsibility. It is claimed that the governments which will be called upon to furnish the military power to maintain peace in the world must control the decisions affecting the use of that power. The argument is impressive, but it precludes the possibility of democratic principles in the organization to any great degree.

In thus trying to resolve the problem of responsibility and authority it is possible that the builders have overlooked another principle equally vital. Can true cooperation of the smaller powers be secured through power and coercion alone? A small nation may not be able

to withstand the fiat of the Great Powers, but together and in groups they can, by innumerable devices and maneuvers, wreck the plans of the giant nations. The small powers were the most loyal supporters of the League of Nations. It would seem the part of wisdom for the Great Powers today to make sufficient concessions in the new league in order to win the same degree of loyalty from the other fifty-odd "sovereign states."

The two documents—the League Covenant and the United Nations Charter—naturally reflect the times which produced them. The spirit of 1945 is not the same as that of 1919. There is less of democratic idealism and more of cold realism. There is less emphasis on "international cooperation," more on "world order"; less on "collective security," more on "peace and security." At Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco, attention was focused less on the

basic causes of war and how to remove them, and more on emergency crises and how to deal with them effectively. But it must be remembered that when the Charter was drawn up in 1945 the most horrible war of all time was surging to its climax. Even among the allies there existed ideological disunity as sharp as their differences with the enemy. One fact dominated their thinking more than any other: They had wanted peace but had been forced into a tragic, devastating war. Their central problem appeared to them as the problem of 1931-1939, namely, how to deal with the aggressor. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the cornerstone of their structure that of military police power, and the whole framework cemented together with the mortar of centralized responsibility. They revived the League of Nations but revised it to conform to the needs of the hour as they saw them.

The French School Curriculum and American History

JAMES J. FLYNN

Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts

Much has been said concerning the problem of reteaching the German, Italian and Japanese school children in the ways of democracy. Professor Allan Nevins, after a trip to England in 1942, wrote a short history of the United States for the school children of Great Britain. To date, nothing has been mentioned of a program that would tend to enlighten French school children in the story of America's march to democracy.

The average French high school student's connection with the social sciences is based on a study of French history. This course, which is compulsory, is covered in two years. It stresses the pomp and ceremony of the reigns of the kings of France and the great part played by Napoleon in shaping the history of that country. The importance given to Napoleon and the Napoleonic legend go far in explaining the romantic nature of the people. The story of Napoleon and of Napoleon III are

nothing more than advance copies of Hitler and Mussolini. This type of history is the very thing we are trying to avoid in Germany, Italy and Japan. Social studies in France also include a study of the history of Europe, with particular emphasis on Germany, Spain, and Italy, and with a short section on England. This course is presented from the typical European historical viewpoint—over-emphasis on the military and practically no emphasis on the social. It is viewed from the battle-front and the successful or unsuccessful strategy used in each engagement.

History of the United States is practically non-existent in French secondary schools. Private secondary schools throughout France, where English is taught, carry standard American history texts for reference, but do not offer a course in the history of the United States. The public secondary schools in their courses on the history of France digress for a very

short space to explain that the French king helped bring freedom to America, and that Lafayette has been recognized in the United States as a hero.

French school children know more about the geography of the United States than they do of its people and customs. Geography is taught from the elementary school through high school, with the result that places like New York, Boston, San Francisco and New Orleans are well known to the youngsters in France as being American seaports at which French ships call. Of these cities as places of democratic principles and belief, they know nothing.

In Cherbourg, La Havre, Rennes, Nantes and Paris the author spoke to 300 average French secondary school children and asked the following questions with the results listed below:

Corr. Incorr.

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|--|-----|-----|
| (a) Who is the President of the United States? | 198 | 102 |
| (b) What is Lend Lease? | 40 | 260 |
| (c) What did America do to help De Gaulle? | 135 | 165 |
| (d) Who was President Wilson? | 80 | 220 |

- (e) Did America join the League of Nations? 105 195

- (f) Who is General Pershing? 60 240

All questions were asked between July and November, 1944. The breakdown of students were: First year, 56; Second year, 108; Third year, 23; and Fourth year, 123. These years are equivalent in general to our high school grades.

The United States is giving much thought to re-educating the youth of Germany, Italy and Japan. It would be well if we stopped to consider that the youth of other nations, friendly with our government, know little of our way of life. These children will be the leaders and workers of the next generation. France has always been friendly to America. It might be well to continue to strengthen that friendship with a short, well-prepared history of the United States to be distributed free in the schools of France. To be a true friend one must know you as well as trust you. France trusts the United States. Now is the time to help her know the United States.

Revised Historical Viewpoints

RALPH B. GUINNESS

Franklin K. Lane High School, Brooklyn, New York

*A BUSINESSMAN REFORMER¹

Daniel Howell Hise was an ardent supporter of most of the crusading movements in the two decades before the Civil War. He was not a professional reformer, for business absorbed most of his attention. He was content to lend financial and moral assistance to many a cause. A resident of Salem, Ohio, he was a successful business man and acquired a respectable amount of property. He was at one time a steamboat engineer, (1837-1839), and later a blacksmith in Salem. He soon entered the house-roofing business; he then made tools for the local section of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad, and later operated a brick-making plant.

¹ Lewis E Atherton, "Daniel Howell Hise, Abolitionist and Reformer," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVI (December 1939), 343-358.

He was scrupulously honest in business, expecting the smallest of debts to be paid and demanding an honest day's work from his employees. He was intellectually honest. No passage of his diary contained any boastful note of his achievements.² He entertained many of the anti-slavery leaders in his home, but he never boasted of this association. Visits from his neighbors were as carefully recorded as those of the great.

Hise became interested in the reform movement early in life, for which he gave credit to Amos Gilbert. The latter's anti-slavery zeal was drawn from Fanny Wright, a gradual emancipationist, but both Gilbert and Hise

² Atherton's account is based solely on three diaries of Hise, which deal with business affairs, weather reports, and unusual happenings in community besides his reform activities. With three other diaries these cover the years, 1849-1878.

avored the immediate abolition views of Garrison. Hise's interest in reform centered on the antislavery crusade and at times he was on the executive board of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. He contributed to the Underground Railway but would refuse funds to any fugitive who loafed rather than earn money to help himself to Canada. He was active in this work especially from 1849 to 1855. At one time he joined a rescue party to snatch a woman slave from her master when both were enroute by train to the South. He handled correspondence for fugitive slaves, sometimes with their masters to effect their freedom; he gave them work on his farm, or in his business, and aided Negroes in business matters. He paid them the same wages as his white employees.

From 1852 to 1860 he took a leading part in the handling of the Salem Anti-Slavery Fair where the abolitionists sold food to raise funds. Hise performed many duties there: sweeping and preparing the hall, making tables, wreaths, and ice-cream. He slept in the hall at night to protect the property.

Hise was a confirmed abolitionist after 1850 and helped fugitives within or without the law. At one time he financially aided the armed self-defense of a Negro sought by a United States marshal. He was a confirmed admirer of Garrison and a regular subscriber to the *Liberator*. He also subscribed to the anti-slavery *Bugle*, at one time edited by Oliver Johnson, who boarded at the Hise home. In 1858 Hise attended all Garrison's lectures at the home of Benjamin Jones. He entertained many of Garrison's associates in his home including Oliver Johnson, Henry C. Wright and Charles C. Burleigh. Marius Robinson, one of the editors of the anti-slavery *Bugle*, lived in Salem and was a close friend of Hise. Robinson, however, was a follower of Theodore Weld.

Hise was intemperate in his language, as was Garrison and, like him, was an uncompromising foe of the Constitution. He refused to vote for seventeen years until October, 1861, when he voted the Union ticket. He would be no party to a government "that is so partial, as to prohibit women and Negroes from exercising the elective franchise." He would take no part in supervising elections when invited, as he would take no oath to a Constitution that was pro-slavery. He favored Frémont for Presi-

dent in 1856 but did not vote. Hise gave enthusiastic approval to the John Brown raid. One of those hanged was Edwin Coppoc, a Salem man. In later years Hise erected a stone shaft over Coppoc's grave.

Hise also supported the temperance movement, believing that alcohol had evil effects on the human body. He favored women's rights in which he was supported by his wife who introduced the "bloomer dress" to Salem. He entertained in his home Betsy Cowles and Abbey K. Foster, both advocates of women's rights. Hise was not orthodox in religion and seldom attended church. He did not believe in the enforcement of the observance of the Sabbath by law. His religious views were greatly influenced by the writing of Tom Paine, and he helped in celebrations of the latter's birthday. Like Garrison, Hise did not believe that the Bible was infallible.

Atherton suggests that other detailed studies of the rank and file might reveal many followers of Garrison, whose influence west of the Alleghenies was minimized by Professor A. B. Hart in 1906.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN THE UPPER SOUTH³

The borderland between the cotton-kingdom and the free North furnished the best field for a fight for a free press with regard to the slavery issue. Here slavery held its most precarious hold economically, and here were many anti-slavery Quakers and settlements of Northerners who had taken up abandoned tobacco lands. But even in this region, as in the deep South, the press and public were paralyzed by the fear that any discussion of emancipation would encourage slave revolts. Slave owners stressed this danger to public safety in imposing a policy of silence and seldom emphasized the danger of property loss which unrestrained discussion of emancipation implied.⁴

Journalism in the South was limited by laws forbidding free discussion after 1830. Virginia law made it a crime for anyone to maintain by writing or speaking that owners had no right of property in their slaves. North Carolina forbade circulation of publications which would dissatisfy slaves with their bondage or free

³ Clement Eaton, "The Freedom of the Press in the Upper South," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII (March 1932), 479-499.

⁴ Eaton's sources were newspapers of the day, diaries, biographies, government records, and others.

Negroes with their social and political conditions. Maryland and Tennessee between 1830 and 1840 passed stringent censorship laws. Kentucky alone of the border states had no laws prohibiting the teaching of Negroes to read and write, and not until 1860 did she have any legislation infringing the freedom of speech or press.

These states seldom invoked their laws. Jarvis Bacon, in 1849, and Samuel Janney, in 1850, were tried in Virginia for violation of her laws. A conviction of the former was reversed by the State Supreme Court, and the case against the latter was dismissed with an admonition that caution should be used in discussing the delicate question. In 1860, in North Carolina, Daniel Worth was condemned by the State Supreme Court to one year in prison for circulating Helper's *Impending Crisis*.

Before 1830, throughout the South, a policy of silence was imposed on the press and public speaking on slavery. Privately, and in Congress, Southern leaders expressed themselves as opposed to slavery in the abstract. Henry Clay admitted the evil of slavery but did not make any strenuous effort to urge an unpopular cause. Hostility to the Quakers who founded the first emancipation paper in the United States, the *Emancipator*, of Jonesborough, Tennessee, forced them to leave the South in droves. In 1816 Joseph Gales, forced out of England for liberal views, declined to publish a Quaker anti-slavery article in his *Raleigh Register*. He opposed slavery, but considered it futile to fly directly in the face of public opinion; he felt that emancipation must come gradually. Public hostility on the subject was so strong that even Jefferson in 1814, and Madison in 1825, declined requests for public advocacy of emancipation.

For one year following the Nat Turner insurrection in 1831 there was an outbreak of criticism against slavery in the Virginia press. John Hampden Pleasants in the Richmond *Whig* said it shocked people out of their morbid sensibility and Thomas Ritchie of the Richmond *Enquirer* demanded that the legislature remove the incubus of slavery. During the great legislative debate in 1832 in the Virginia House, McDowell, Faulkner and T. J. Randolph spoke out vigorously against slavery.

A reaction soon set in to muzzle the press. Senator Alexander of Mecklenburg County published a letter in the Richmond *Enquirer*, January 12, 1832, declaring that it was folly to stimulate fresh agitation of emancipation since there was no safe scheme for it. An anonymous writer in the *Enquirer*, February 4, 1832, asked for the suppression of all newspapers advocating emancipation in Virginia. Numerous public meetings throughout eastern Virginia passed resolutions condemning the *Enquirer* and the *Whig* for departing from the wisdom of the past not to discuss publicly the delicate question. In the face of opposition, Pleasants and Ritchie became silent and legislative champions of emancipation.

William Swain, editor of the Greensborough *Patriot* (North Carolina) was a valiant champion of a free press and emancipation until his death in 1834. He denounced North Carolina's laws censoring discussion on slavery but went unmolested by the courts possibly because his paper was published in Guilford County, the center of southern Quakerdom.

By 1835 the Upper South had adopted once more the policy of strict silence in regard to emancipation. At that time the South was deluged by Northern abolition literature. The North Carolina legislature addressed appeals to the Northern states to enact laws to prohibit the printing of publications advocating emancipation. Other Southern states adopted similar resolutions. Some effort was made to secure a federal law preventing the circulation of anti-slavery publications through the mails.

Hostility to free discussion led to the death of John Hampden Pleasants in a duel. Accused in 1846 by the *Enquirer* (edited by the son of Thomas Ritchie), of being an abolitionist, he had replied vigorously in his paper. He declared he was opposed to slavery as it handicapped the South in competition with other states and was also opposed to the Northern abolitionists, whom he hated. In the ensuing correspondence, the younger Ritchie called him a coward. Pleasants challenged him to a duel and was mortally wounded.

Elsewhere in the borderland there was much silence on the slavery question. In the Virginia Panhandle, sandwiched between Pennsylvania and Ohio, later West Virginia, even though there were only 149 slaves in a population of

45,000, newspaper editors, many of whom were Northern men, maintained discreet silence. Also, the Northern editors of papers in Kentucky, North Carolina and Georgia were profoundly affected by their environment and made no protest against slavery. One exception was A. W. Campbell, an Ohioan, editor of the *Wheeling Intelligencer*. He praised the enthusiastic reception accorded *Uncle Tom's Cabin* when it was played in Wheeling in 1856. He denounced Virginia as a slave-tainted state and urged and supported the separation of the Panhandle from Virginia. He was one of the leaders in the creation of the new state. He was no radical abolitionist, for he denounced the John Brown raid.

The difficulty of maintaining a free press in slave territory was exemplified in the suppression of the *True American*, founded by Cassius M. Clay, in 1845, at Lexington, Kentucky. Clay was born of an aristocratic slave-owning family, but had become converted to abolition while at student at Yale through the lectures of Garrison. Two months after its founding, he launched, on August 12, 1845, a bitter attack on slavery. Six days later a great public meeting was addressed by Thomas F. Marshall. The meeting appointed a committee of sixty to dismantle Clay's printing presses. The committee obtained the keys to the building, boxed up the presses, and sent them pre-paid to Cincinnati. Thus his efforts met the same fate that befell James G. Birney at Dansville in 1835. Some members of the committee were prosecuted but acquitted. Clay held that the fear of a slave insurrection in a state where the whites outnumbered the blacks six to one was mere bugaboo used by slave-holders to keep themselves in power. Clay served as a volunteer in the Mexican War and on his return ran for

governor, urging gradual emancipation. He received 5,000 votes.

There were a few other free lance efforts which did not accomplish much. The *Lexington Examiner*, 1847-1851, moderately advocated emancipation until it expired for lack of funds. In 1858 William Bailey, a Northern mechanic, printed the *Free South* which was supported by Northern abolitionists. Following the John Brown raid a mob wrecked his presses.

George D. Prentice, editor of the *Louisville Journal*, moderately avowed the cause of emancipation declaring again and again that slavery would disappear gradually by the "slow process of public opinion and the gentle influence of moral causes." From 1845 to 1849 his *Journal* was silent on the slavery question for he felt that the issue, following the suppression of the *True American* was not ready for discussion. He rebuked the people of Lexington for this act of suppression. He was concerned chiefly in preserving the unity of the Whig Party. Prior to the constitutional convention of 1850, when discussion arose as to emancipation, he declined to open the columns of his paper to it. Later, he did so declaring there was no harm in discussing emancipation as a social question rather than as a moral evil or as political injustice. He felt that time alone would remove slavery.

Thus there were a few attempts, but no successful efforts for a free press in the Upper South. The press as a whole kept silent because of a number of factors: (1) The power and influence of the slave-holders; (2) the fear of a slave insurrection; (3) the intolerance engendered by vehement abolitionist attacks; (4) the need to silence slavery agitation in order to hold a party together; and the fear of radicalism regarding slavery affecting the rest of society.

Seventy Dollars for a Sandwich

By DON A. SMITH

Ferndale, Michigan

Seventy dollars for a sandwich and a cup of coffee or a hundred dollars for a dozen of eggs would seem to be fantastic prices to the average American. Yet, the Chinese, the French,

and the Greek consumers are actually paying these high prices today; and each and everyone of us may be paying even higher prices tomorrow. The only way our country can be

saved from economic ruin is for everyone to understand the present battle against inflation well enough so that he will cooperate in this war on the home front.

We continue to ignore the fact that inflation brings financial ruin, political decadence, and starvation. If we are reminded of the story of the German captain who in 1922 collected his insurance endowment, which represented his life savings, and then walked across the street and spent the entire amount for half a dozen eggs, we only shrug our shoulders and say that it can't happen here. And, yet, it has happened here not once but many times. In fact, inflation has never been conquered. It has never been prevented whenever huge sums of money have been placed in circulation as has been done during the last few years.

Inflation is no new problem, for the story of American inflation begins in 1775. At that time the Second Continental Congress was debating the question of levying taxes for the purpose of raising money for the Revolutionary War. In the heat of the discussion one of the delegates exclaimed: "Do you think that I will consent to load my constituents with taxes when we can send to the printers and get a wagon load of money, one quire of which will pay for the whole?" His logic prevailed. The Congress and colonial governments paid for nearly all of their war expenses by issuing over \$440,000,000 in the form of promissory notes. As soon as the paper money was circulated, people learned to distrust it. Everyone wanted payment for his goods or labor in currency rather than worthless "continental money." Yet, this was impossible since all the specie had to be used to pay for imports.

Prices of goods skyrocketed. It took eighty dollars worth of paper money to procure what a dollar in specie would buy. In 1781 corn sold for eighty dollars a bushel, flour was priced at fifteen hundred dollars a barrel, tea sold for ninety dollars a pound, and shoes were listed at a hundred dollars a pair. In spite of these prices merchants were reluctant to part with their goods in exchange for the cheap paper money.

The world was indeed topsy-turvy. Creditors were found who ran away from their debtors so that they would not have to accept this fiat money in payment for the gold or

other specie which they had loaned. Walls of barber shops were papered with continental money. Trade was carried on by barter and the use of foreign coins. High prices and the lack of a sound money worked a severe hardship upon the soldiers and their families who were paid the useless money; members of the Continental Congress who instigated the system also suffered. Such illustrious leaders as Madison and Jefferson were forced to depend upon Haym Salomon, a Polish Jew, to meet their current expenses. These things all happened when we were winning our liberty from England.

Eighty years after the Revolutionary War, history repeated itself. Congress attempted to finance the Civil War by increasing taxes and borrowing money from its citizens. Then, when both of these methods proved inadequate, our government resorted to the use of fiat money or greenbacks. This experiment, like the one of the Revolutionary War days, proved unwise. By 1863 the greenback had dropped to seventy-two cents in value, and a year later it was worth only thirty-six cents. This cheap money drove specie out of circulation so the government was forced to issue paper money or "shinplasters" in denominations as low as three cents.

Salmon Chase, Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, recognized that fiat money was unsound, but he insisted that he would raise the price of a breakfast to a thousand dollars if necessary to finance the war. Prices increased 116 per cent from 1860 to 1865, but wages advanced only 43 per cent during the same period. Thus, beef which sold for nine cents a pound in 1860 retailed for twenty cents a pound at the close of the war, but the working man who made seventy cents a day at the beginning of the war made only a dollar a day at the close of the war.

Inflated as prices were in the North, conditions were even worse in the Confederacy. There, inflation with the aid of the blockade forced the price of coffee up to four dollars a pound. Tea sold for thirty-five dollars a pound, milk was worth four dollars a quart, butter sold for two dollars a pound, flour was listed at three hundred dollars a barrel, a pair of shoes could be bought for a hundred and fifty dollars, and one could buy a yard of

muslin if he had eight dollars. Since wages did not increase with prices, people were forced to find substitutes for many foods. Coffee was made by boiling parched wheat and dried sweet potatoes; sassafras and raspberry leaves were substituted for tea; ashes of corn cobs were used in the place of soda.

While prices of commodities had increased as much as 7,500 per cent, wages had increased only 100 per cent. People of Richmond who made two hundred and fifty dollars a month after their wages had been doubled realized that they were worse off than ever before, for now they found that they had to pay over a hundred dollars for a sack of flour, sixty dollars for a turkey, and six dollars for a bushel of potatoes. If one had gone to the Oriental Restaurant at Richmond in a futile attempt to save money, he would have been sadly disappointed, for he would have found that a meager meal would have cost him seventy dollars in Confederate notes. Considering these prices there is little wonder that high government officials found that they could not subsist and clothe their families on their \$13,000 annual salaries.

In spite of these exorbitant Confederate prices visitors to the South who possessed specie found that prices were very low. Professor Gildersleeve, who visited the South, stated that "Richmond was a paradise of good and cheap living" providing that one made his purchases in gold. Another visitor to Richmond related that he could live at a hotel for twenty dollars in Confederate money or seventy-five cents a day in specie. Furthermore, wheat, which had brought two dollars a bushel in time of peace, sold for as much as twenty-five dollars in Confederate money or twenty-five cents a bushel in gold. Thus did the South pay the price for inflation.

As our country has financed the most expensive war of its history, it is well to keep in mind these past catastrophies caused by fiat money. With Congress and the administrative forces of our government taxing and borrowing money to finance the war, many people may feel that they are unable to buy war or victory bonds when taxes and prices are so high. Yet, every dollar spent in any other way tends to raise prices of commodities not frozen to still higher levels.

The drastic lessons of the Revolutionary and Civil Wars convinced our people that wars cannot be financed by printing fiat money without causing undue hardships on the consumer. Consequently, when we entered the First World War our government was determined that the cost of the war would be financed by taxes and loans rather than by the issuance of fiat money. In this way it was hoped that war-time prices and wages would remain stable. But contrary to all hopes, beliefs, and economic theories, prices skyrocketed while workmen, either too loyal or not well organized to strike, succeeded in securing comparatively small wage increases.

This breakdown of the theory that wars can be financed through taxes and government borrowing without inflation, should not be blamed upon Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo or any other individual or group of individuals who instigated the plan. Examination of the causes of the inflation of the First World War reveal the roots of the evil to be both multifarious and complex. In the first place the immediate cost of the war to us was approximately thirty billion dollars as compared with three billion which the Civil War cost. Since ten times as much money was put into circulation during the First World War as in the Civil War, there was a greater demand for goods. Prices in 1917 and 1918 were determined entirely by supply and demand; therefore prices were forced up.

A second factor which forced prices up during the First World War was the fact that the war ushered in a period of luxury buying which heretofore had been entirely unknown. Every wage earner became for the first time a potential purchaser of such articles as a modern home, a furnace, an automobile, and fresh winter vegetables. Since the demand for these goods was much greater than the supply, prices soared. Those purchasers who found the inflated prices of many of the more costly luxuries out of their reach purchased with a frenzy the few commodities which they could afford, and every purchase encouraged the profiteer to double his already exorbitant price.

A third reason why the soundly-financed war of twenty-five years ago was defiled by inflation is that the relatively high wages which were paid in war industries instigated a period of economic optimism which resulted in buying

on credit. People who realized that they could not afford a living room set priced at three hundred dollars were easily convinced that they could afford the set if they could pay for it in twelve installments of thirty dollars. It is significant to note that this introduction of installment buying literally revolutionized the old economic law of supply and demand. Economists who had previously defined *demand* for an economic goods as a desire for a goods plus the ability to pay for it were forced to modify their definition so that it read that demand for goods was created when anything was desired by anyone who was willing to mortgage his future wages. This change meant that a feeling of confidence in the future could be substituted for money in the pocket. Inflation thus received another diligent helper.

It seems that if anything of value can be derived from a study of our past wars it is the fact that inflation has never been prevented. The Second World War has all the seeds of inflation which existed in 1918. We have already spent well over a hundred and sixty billion dollars as compared with thirty billion dollars which was expended in the First World War. Consequently, having paid out more than five times as much money in World War II as was paid out in the First World War, one would expect greater inflation. Similarities of the two wars are found in the facts that luxuries,

profiteering, and installment buying, then as now, make up a part of America. In spite of the fact that one would expect to find inflation on a grander scale than ever before, we are not yet forced to pay eight dollars a bushel for potatoes, a dollar a pound for butter, and fifteen cents a pound for sugar as we did twenty-five years ago.

History has not as yet been allowed to repeat itself. Price ceilings and subsidies have succeeded in preventing a chaos of inflation which, if tolerated, would wreck our entire economic system. Unquestionably, certain inequalities do exist under the present system, but this plan, imperfect as it may be, has staved off financial disaster. Rather than to return to the planless era after peace came twenty-five years ago, it is far wiser and safer to correct the few injustices of the price control and subsidy plan.

It may be well to remind ourselves that the greatest danger of inflation may be reached now that the war is over. In this post-war period all of us including ten million returning servicemen will be seeking homes, furniture, and automobiles in a very limited market. Consequently, we must be prepared to accept price ceilings and price control until after the period of adjustment. This infringement upon our American way of life is necessary if we are to prevent history from repeating the mistakes of the past.

Electronics Industry of the Post-war World

MARY SCHAFFER

Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan

Now that the war is over, the American industrial front will face its supreme test—that of keeping our economics in a stable condition. Government spending is expected to drop from a war-time high of ninety billion dollars per year to an estimated twenty-five billion dollars annually. It is also predicted that within one year after victory there will be six and one-half million servicemen and over nine million unemployed war workers for whom

work must be furnished.¹ Here will be the two basic causes of economic instability—a lack of market and a lack of purchasing power. It is my purpose to show the place which the expanded field of electronics should be able to play in averting this danger and in creating economic stability, presuming there are no major economic upsets.

¹S. H. Slichter, "Postwar Outlook for Business, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 11 (December 1, 1944), 123.

The electronic field should provide employment for many of those fifteen million unemployed. Now that war-time electronic research is available for civilian production, it is predicted that electronic devices will be used in virtually every phase of our life. Here are a very few examples. In our homes, we can expect television sets, photo-electric eyes to switch lights on and off, or to open doors, with no effort on our part. Other electronic tubes will be used to destroy bacteria in the refrigerator or to free the air of smoke and germs.

Besides all these marvels for our homes of the future, electronics should greatly benefit industry by making possible many new industrial techniques. A few examples include changing alternating currents to direct currents by means of a device called the ignitron, and the use of the high-frequency heating principle for bonding plywood, curing plastics, or flowing tin on steel. The medical field should also expand; delicate surgical operations will be possible through the use of the electronic "radio knife." A further development should be electrophysiology, made possible by electronic photographs of minute electrical impulses of the mind and heart.

Obviously, these electronic applications will add much to technical knowledge. What economic importance will they have? Each new device which materializes to civilian mass production will establish hundreds of thousands more jobs for returning veterans and unemployed workers. These new industries will not only furnish employment to those who manufacture the articles; they will also open up myriads of other related fields for repairmen, servicemen, inspectors, installers, and testers, fields which will require knowledge of electronic principles in varying degrees. There will also be openings for efficient demonstrators and salesmen to impress the importance of these new devices on the public. Men of greater technical training will be needed as supervisors, designers, electrical engineers, and research workers.² Of course, it is not expected that any one field will supply all of the jobs needed for our future unemployed, but electronics should help considerably to restore a

stable peacetime economy, if there are sufficient other industries doing their bit.

Economically, will these jobs be significant or will they be merely hypothetical solutions to the problem—jobs which are created now, but incapable of being filled in the future because of a lack of trained men? In the post-war electronic field there should be no shortage of trained personnel. Over one-half million servicemen are returning well-equipped to enter this field. They have a knowledge of the fundamentals of electronics received in service branches, such as radar, radio communication, or radio maintenance.³ Some of them will want to go to work immediately, to learn on the job; others will wish to finish their formal education along these lines in order to fill the more technical jobs later on. This number of trained workers, increased by those who can be taken into the field totally unprepared and trained on the job, should mean there will be no shortage of personnel in the electronic field.

No product is important unless it has buyers. In this respect, the post-war era should be a most opportune time to introduce new electronic devices for home and industrial use. Then, the American people will be both psychologically willing and financially able to purchase them. After a prolonged period of restricted manufacture, frozen markets, and bond purchasing, the people will buy any and all available articles. And not only will they want these new appliances; they will be able to buy them. During the last four years of war our nation has saved a total of one hundred billion dollars, three and one-half times our average rate of saving!⁴ Once there is some outlet for this money, where will these savings go? Judging from the American tendency to maintain a high standard of living and to have every possible luxury and comfort, it is most logical to expect much of it to be put into improvements for the home or industry, as the case may be.

There will be several other important factors contributing to a general buying spree. One is the natural wear and tear from age and use on pre-war material due to the lack of replacements and repairs during the war years.

² Evelyn Steele, *Careers for Girls in Science and Engineering*, pp. 114-125.

³ D. G. Cooley, *Your World Tomorrow*, p. 238.

⁴ S. H. Slichter "Postwar Outlook for Business," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 11 (December 1, 1944). 123

Another factor will be the increased number of marriages during the war years, and the fact that after victory most of these couples will be setting up their first homes. Here, again, the American tendency to pursue the highest possible standard of living will favor the innovations to the out-of-date, if the innovations are within the financial limits of the average family.

Thus, the field of electronics, if it expands as most economists now feel it will, should be able to assist in the task of returning and maintaining a stable economy. It should be able to furnish employment to millions who will need it and at the same time create a larger buying power for the products made. Whether or not it actually accomplishes all this is unpredictable. No one can say with certitude now how much research will remain to be done on electronic devices before they will be available for mass production at reasonable prices, nor how many of them will ever reach mass-production stages. Too, no one can foresee accurately our post-war economic setup—for example, how much free competition will be permitted, how much control the government will exert on industry, and what taxes will be levied. All of these factors will have much to do in determining the success or failure of any busi-

ness enterprise.⁵ It seems fairly safe, however, to say that the electronic field seems destined to exert an important influence toward stabilization, barring unforeseen economic upsets.

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⁵ Ira Mosher, "Job Ahead for Industry," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 11 (March 1, 1945) pp. 297-299.

Some Observations by an Economist on the Subject of Grading

KENNETH C. SPAULDING

West Liberty State College, West Liberty, West Virginia

Several years ago an article appeared in one of the leading magazines of the United States purporting to be the confession of a college professor. The gist of the confession was that the professor had attempted in his early teaching to keep standards of achievement and grading high. The result of such effort, it appeared, was increasing unpopularity with his students and ultimately an interview with the president of the college who mentioned among other things the school's need to maintain cordial relations with the wealthy parents of students in the professor's classes. Such people, it was

intimated, frequently made bequests and donations to the college. Being somewhat inclined to professorial stubbornness, the young teacher did not immediately and markedly mend his ways, and so tottered precariously upon the brink of dismissal. Finally, an older colleague invited him for a walk, during the course of which the unwisdom of the professor's attitudes was tactfully suggested. Convinced that he at last understood the true nature of his opportunities and responsibilities, the professor's classes were thereafter conducted as lecture sessions, and his grading policy was liber-

alized. At the time he wrote, he was popular, alike with students and administration.

Whether or not the foregoing represents a common situation the writer has no interest in determining. For him it serves to illustrate the main contention in this essay, that certain tendencies and data in the field of economics can be placed in juxtaposition with problems encountered in grading. To be more precise, it is believed that the proposed economic approach to grading problems is an especially fruitful method of analysis. It may even be that some of the conclusions that appear justified in monetary matters will suggest the nature of corresponding conclusions in grading.

The fundamental problems of money and grading are strikingly alike. In both instances there is an attempt to measure, compare, or reward human activities and the degree of merit that may be associated with them. In the case of economic activity the problem is simplified because the activity results in creation of goods and services which can be exchanged for other goods and services. In both cases, however, that which is to be measured is to a considerable extent intangible and complicated and admits but imperfectly of the process of measurement. Numerous attempts have been made to improve measuring techniques in both fields. These have often revealed lack of insight, or a failure fully to fathom the problems involved. Technocracy, which enjoyed considerable vogue during the depression of the 1930's, advocated the kilowatt hour as the proper monetary unit. All economic activity was to be translated into such terms, and exchange of goods and services was to be based upon comparison of the energy required to produce the goods or services in question. Economists quickly recognized the idea as simply a variant of the labor theory of value, for long adjudged an inadequate analysis.

In a somewhat similar way so-called objective tests and scoring have attempted to reduce the measurement of school achievement to simplicity and objectivity. With such a procedure it is sometimes apparently forgotten that subjectivity may and often does enter into the making of the test itself. If there be any validity in the definition that "Education is what is left after one has forgotten all that he learned in school," then the theory of objective

tests is also somewhat short of an adequate analysis.

Particularly evident respecting both money and grades is the rather general effort of human beings to realize the highest economy of effort—to get as much as possible with as little exertion as may be necessary. Thus, gambling, high finance, high-pressure salesmanship, hard bargaining, and financial corruption are paralleled by cramming, copying, apple polishing, and similar scholastic unscrupulousness. Evidently, the often recommended attitude that high grades should not be a student's chief aim, is not taken more seriously by the majority than the corresponding advice to the effect that acquiring a large amount of money is not a suitable goal in life. Students appear to continue to regard at least a certain level of grade acquisition as meaning the possession of good educational currency, capable of being exchanged for durable satisfactions of some sort. It is probably for this reason that grading schemes based upon a "satisfactory-unsatisfactory" philosophy have not achieved conspicuous success. Like pure socialism they seem good in theory, but fail to work.

It is all very well to tell the student that the principal thing is to do justice to his own highest potentialities; he is likely to continue to ask how high his achievement is when compared to that of others. Russian communism once said: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his need." It became necessary to modify this ideal in favor of competition and reward according to productivity. The student's world, including its educational phase, is highly competitive. This, he is led to believe, tends, within limits, to have good results. Even his teachers compete with one another for rank, recognition, and often for student popularity.

Comparisons between money and grades rather clearly existing are in connection with the following:

1. Multi-standards.
2. Inflation.
3. Inter-standard evaluation.
4. Gresham's Law.

A discussion of each of these will follow.

MULTI-STANDARDS

Monetary standards ordinarily made use of are: (1) gold, (2) gold and silver, (3) gold

exchange, (4) government securities, and (5) fiat money. In practice, not one but a combination of these may be used with the probable provision that all standards under some circumstances may be converted into one, either gold, or gold and silver.

Grading standards include: (1) per cent of material mastered; (2) the student's work estimated by the teacher to be failing, below average, average, above average, or superior quality; (3) a letter basis: F, D, I, C, B, A; (4) by use of the words: fail, poor, good, very good, or excellent; (5) some assigning of the above grades upon a normal or near-normal curve basis, and (6) a two-point, satisfactory-unsatisfactory system. Actually, the assigning of grades is frequently subjective on the teacher's part to a point sometimes approaching chaos. Commonly, there may be within a single school a combination of the above standards in use. Although all teachers may employ the same grade symbols in reporting, a process of translation from some other scheme is first resorted to in order to determine standing.

INFLATION

Monetary inflation may be thought of as a condition in which there exists an excessive amount of purchasing power in comparison to the goods and services available for purchase. This, if not controlled, results in ever-increasing money incomes for the majority of people; the purchasing power of the incomes, however, is progressively lower because prices also increase at an even higher rate than income.

Inflation exists in a school's grading when an undue proportion of the grades are of honor quality. A large number of students, it would seem in such a case, is doing work of high excellence. Actually, honor students have been pulled down to the level of average students. There may be, for example, many A's and B's, but these grades mean little; no prestige is associated with them in the minds of those who know the facts. Real honor students, like persons of fixed income from investments (rentier class) under monetary inflation, are the losers. The writer recalls the case of a teacher who usually gave as much as 60 to 70 per cent of his grades, A's and B's. He explained this by saying: "Most of the students got all, or almost all of the work right." Obviously, the

teacher should have increased the difficulty of the learning exercises made use of in his classes.

INTER-STANDARD EXCHANGE

One of the major difficulties of international trade is that of conversion of monetary sums in one country into the proper amount of money in another country, in other words, the determination of the ratio of exchange between two monetary standards. Under conditions that exist when nations are on a fixed gold standard, the task is relatively simple, and trade is automatically controlled. When countries no longer guarantee payment in gold for their money, the difficulties frequently become almost insurmountable and trade languishes. A major postwar task will be the setting up of a world bank to deal in foreign exchange and regulate its value.

An analogous situation exists when work done in one school is transferred to another. The question then naturally arises as to what the value of the grades transferred is in terms of the grading standard of the institution to which they are transferred.

Some colleges, it is reported, follow the practice of reducing all grades of full credit transferred to them to a "C" for purposes of computing averages. This is done, it is said, in order that graduation honors may be reserved for students who have carried on all their work in the college graduating them.

Again, it sometimes occurs that a student going from a small college to a large university to do graduate work, finds that a high undergraduate grade average is a liability instead of an asset. Meeting the stiff competition of the brilliant minds certain to be present in a large graduate school, his showing is disappointing both to himself and those familiar with his record. The plain fact is that the honor grades he previously received are not the equivalent of those given at the university. Some means of translating them into terms of a common denominator is needed.

GRESHAM'S LAW

In its broader aspects Gresham's Law states that doubtful (cheap or inflated) money drives good (dear or full-value, e.g., gold) money out of circulation when both circulate concurrently. Under such circumstances, no one pays an

obligation with good money unless, as an inducement, the obligation is substantially reduced. Instead, everyone pays with doubtful money, carefully hoarding any good money that may come into his possession. Soon, virtually the only circulating medium is doubtful money.

Whenever in a school, there are teachers who grade much more liberally than others, particularly when those teachers are capable and personable, the tendency arises for students to criticize and discriminate against those who hold to more justifiable standards. Classes of these latter may decline; complaints may be made to administrators, until out of self defense and in an effort to prevent further unpleasant consequences, the teachers generally adopt a more liberal standard of grading. Such was the situation related in the opening of this essay. In such cases a doubtful standard of grading drives out a sounder one.

In some large universities where the practices of individual teachers are not so well known to others, it sometimes happens that liberal-grading teachers render mediocre students a unique service. A student of this sort, let us say, wishes to gain admission to an honor society which demands a high grade average for eligibility. Our mediocre student ascertains what professors in different departments are "high graders," and what "apple polishing" techniques achieve success in different cases. Carefully working out his schedule to get into the right teachers' classes, our student may be able to produce the required average. Friends on the inside are relied upon to secure a bid to membership. Once more, confusion and frustration for the legitimate purpose of grading has resulted, and the bright scutcheon of scholastic honor has been tarnished.

SOME LESSONS FOR EDUCATORS

The first lesson, perhaps, for educators from the foregoing concerns the importance of setting up and maintaining proper grade standards. Such a standard appears to the writer to be present in the normal distribution curve. He hastens to add that it is not conceived that such a distribution may be expected in a single class;

neither would it be held that averages over a long period must represent precisely the normal curve. A distribution reasonably close to the normal curve, however, is the true "gold standard."

Within a school, what constitutes proper distribution of grades could be explained to all teachers by the administration. Each year a complete report could be made to all teachers, showing by percentages what the grade distribution of the different teachers has been.

When credits are transferred, a statement should be made indicating the average percentages of grades of different qualities given in the school transferring work. Much would still need to be equated to realize a perfect standard of comparison. The most important difficulty, perhaps, would have been hurdled.

The second lesson concerns the need to maintain eternal vigilance against fraud and injustice. Too much weight, for example, should not be given to a single check upon students' achievement. It should be taken for granted that some students will copy if the opportunity is present. No teacher should entertain any doubt that when the same tests are used, course after course and year after year, copies will fall into the hands of dishonest students who will take full advantage to the detriment of honest students. There is even danger that tests prepared in advance of their use will find their way by devious means into the possession of the dishonest. Unwillingness to be branded a tale-bearer will keep honest students from reporting such facts in many cases. Paper can be furnished for examinations, so that students will have no occasion to bring sheaves of paper to class which conceivably may contain notes. Teachers should steel themselves against gifts, compliments, or student friendships, as well as all other inducements to subjectivity, when time comes to assign grades.

Finally, increasing effort needs to be made to assure that correlation exists between life and the curriculum as the teacher provides it. Only then will it be reasonable to suppose that achievement as represented by just grades, can be correlated with probable success in life.

Remedial Reading in the History Classroom

RUTH R. LEWIS

High School, San Bernardino, California

Remedial reading programs in the high school curriculum are no longer an innovation; many English departments have made some special segregation between the average and the slow reader. However, other departments have lagged in following the example set by English teachers. Many special studies have been made in recent years which challenge all teachers in every field of learning to make the necessary readjustments in subject matter and teaching procedures to fit the needs of every student.¹

Some teachers say that they lack time to teach both reading *and* mathematics, or science, or history. They believe, even insist, that other teachers, usually English or reading teachers, should take full responsibility for reading instruction, leaving them free to teach the subject matter of their courses. This conception springs from failure to recognize that reading cannot be considered an isolated activity. Reading ability functions effectively when we read for specific life purposes. We *read* only when we are reading *something*. What and why we read actually determine the pattern of specialized reading abilities we use.

As young people in school shift from one type of reading to another, they must adjust their reading methods. To make these adjustments quickly and intelligently, they need the specialized guidance which only their subject teachers can give them.²

This statement, made in a report for the California State Department of Education and the Association of California Secondary School Principals, summarizes the needs of our students and the special efforts that should be

made by every teacher to consider a special reading program in his own department. Another report issued by the National Council of Teachers of English makes clear the problem which confronts every one interested in improving the caliber of our future American citizens:

Teachers of other subjects than English also began to stack up evidence that high school (and, of course, elementary school) pupils could not read well enough to understand textbooks and collateral readings. Something had to be done because school administrators were unwilling to allow repeated failure, and business and industry, unable to employ all graduates, had no interest in those pupils who left school because of failure.³

Because every student is required by the California state law to take a course in United States history, the problem of poor readers who cannot pass the course has been a vital one. In many instances, failures in history prevented graduation. To meet this exigency, an experiment in segregating those with poor reading habits from the normal students was conducted this year at San Bernardino High School. With the cooperation of Miss Elsie Gibbs, director of secondary school education, the history teachers worked out a schedule of classes whereby a remedial "R" class would fall in the same period as a regular class.

The guidance department submitted reading scores and I. Q's. With these as a primary basis, segregation was made at the beginning of the year. However, as these test records are not always infallible, a unit of work for the first two weeks was made out cooperatively by all the instructors of the department. The same textbooks and materials were used by all

¹ *Teaching Reading in the Secondary School*, Bulletin of the California State Department of Education, March, 1943, is one of many such studies which emphasizes the school-wide reading program.

² *Ibid*, p. 42.

³ Angela Broening, and Others. *Conducting Experiences in English*. (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1939), p. 5.

the classes to study the influences which led to the period of exploration. At the end of the unit, an identical examination was given to all students, and further segregation was made on the basis of test scores.

From this point on, the remedial classes deviated from the others only in the approach to the reading materials and subject matter. Increased motivation was necessary to give these slow readers the desire to study the history and customs of their nation. Because poor comprehension goes hand in hand with bad reading habits, each teacher had to emphasize historical trends by oral interpretation. Many class periods were spent in reading aloud and analyzing what had been read. Then with the use of guide questions, students were encouraged to study further until every unit was mastered in a diligent manner.

Apart from subject matter, students were drilled in the forms for making outlines and taking notes, separating the chaff from the wheat, and picking out the most important facts. To stimulate memory work, songs such as our national anthem, "America," and "America the Beautiful" were learned, as well as such prose as "The American's Creed," the preamble to the Constitution, and excerpts from the Declaration of Independence.

Students who liked to draw were given ample opportunity to make pictures of the various phases of our flag, aspects of colonial life, illustrations from the Civil War, and other subjects. Geography was emphasized through

discussions about different types of maps and through the extensive use of desk maps and filling in outline maps. Explanations involving the study of geology relating to the formation of mountains, rivers, and topography generally gave added incentive to the study of regional geography. The resources and products of every state were discovered and their contribution to the nation as a whole was discussed.

These study techniques are old; it is the applied use for stimulation in discovering what our nation is and how it was made that is important. No single textbook was used. Each teacher experimented with several and adapted what reading material she found best suited her type of students and their particular needs.

Although at first there was some doubt in the students' minds about being in remedial classes, confidence in their ability to grasp the subject matter soon dispelled any qualms about being "different." The added realization that they were all in need of help with their reading problems and that competition was on their level constituted an inducement to try harder. Discipline, at least in these classes this year, was not the problem it so often is when poor students cannot keep up with regular class-work and decide to stop trying.

Many improvements will have to be made of course. It will take years of research and work on the part of the faculty, and results can only be measured after a greater period of time has elapsed. But there will be fewer failures in our United States history courses this year!

The Slovenes

Education and Historical Development *vs.* National Consciousness Today

S. W. GOULD
Kodiak, Alaska

World War II has dealt hardly with most small European peoples. No group has suffered more than the Slovenes, third member of the 1918 partnership of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes which started the Yugoslav political enterprise.

When Jugoslavia fell in 1941 the Slovene

lands were divided between Germany and Italy. Although this result was foreseen by many Slovenes, few of them fought the invaders. Slovene-American circles, whose most articulate voice is that of author Louis Adamic, have endeavored to create an opposite impression.

They point to Partisan activity in Slovenia during the Axis occupation as an evidence of the unalterable hostility of the Slovene people to Berlin and Rome, while they stigmatize the large clerical faction, the Slovene People's Party, and various conservative groups as "Quislings," because they collaborated with the invaders.

A consideration of Slovenian history is vital for an understanding of Slovene actions and divisions in the modern era. Such a study indicates with striking clarity the importance of national historic backgrounds in relation to present day events.

Charlemagne's Franks conquered the Slovene lands between 774 and 814. Istria, the pear-shaped peninsula far up on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, was incorporated in the Frankish Empire. On the outskirts of that Empire were established along with the Ost Mark (Austria), the Friulian Mark and the Windisch Mark consisting largely of lands inhabited by the Slovenes. Eventually the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola were formed out of the Friulian and Windisch Marks. Styria became part of the Holy Roman Empire in 955, and was granted by the Empire as a fief to Austria in 1192. Part of Carniola was purchased by Austria in 1229. Carinthia, most of the old Friulian Mark and the rest of Carniola were joined to Austria and Styria by the will of Ulrich, last Duke of Carinthia and Friuli, who also bequeathed Istria to Vienna. Here we have the original core of Habsburg power since these lands passed into the possession of Rudolph I who became Holy Roman Emperor in 1276 A.D. Rudolph and his successors on the imperial throne understood that they could avoid being puppets only if there was a territorial base for their power which otherwise would be impotent to enforce the imperial authority anywhere.

Except for brief intervals the lands enumerated above constituted the hereditary possessions of the House of Habsburg, Tyrol and Vorarlberg being added later. The distinction between these hereditary lands and territories such as Bohemia, Hungary, the Netherlands, etc., acquired subsequently, is not well understood by modern teachers, writers, and historians. It should be noted certainly that the Habsburgs abolished serfdom in the hereditary provinces in the fourteenth century. Thus the

Slovenes, like the Teutonic Austrians, were freeholders, not serfs, even in medieval days, a fact of considerable importance in shaping their national traditions and social life.

In the Alpine provinces of Austria the fate of the aristocracy was sealed towards the end of the fifteenth century. The former serfs had attained quite a tolerably decent standard of living. They were bound to pay rent to their lords, but these rents had been fixed centuries ago while the value of money was decreasing. The peasants owned the land *de facto* if not *de jure*.¹

The quintessence of the complex Prussian legislation . . . was that all feudal charges were abolished at the expense of the peasants. This implied that the poorer peasants were unable to carry the burden imposed upon them, and had to sell out, a process which left the Junkers in possession of the greater part of the soil east of the Elbe, and at the same time provided them with big supplies of agricultural labor. In Austria at the same time abolition was performed at the expense of the tax payers, which meant, in Austria proper at least, that the lords were generally deprived of most of their land, and received in compensation state rents for a limited number of years, while the peasant remained firmly rooted in his soil. The abolition of feudalism in Prussia led to the absolute social domination of the small aristocracy over the countryside; the same abolition in Austria led to the formation of a democratic peasantry which was substantially satisfied, and therefore was ready to obey the high aristocracy and the State administration in the larger matters of home and international policy. A democratic peasantry, satisfied with the leadership of the Hapsburg aristocracy and bureaucracy, remained the most outstanding feature of the political structure of the Alpine provinces till 1914. Finally this political structure of the Austrian countryside has been completely upset by the Nazis only since 1930.²

The identity of destiny of Teutonic Austrians and Slavic Slovenes was complete for more than

¹ Franz Borkenau, *Austria and After* (London, 1938), p. 29.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

600 years. Actually the Slovenes are the oldest retainers of the House of Austria, a circumstance not devoid of importance even today. Inhabitants of a beautiful but infertile mountain land where earth often must be carried up on sturdy peasant backs to provide gardens for the highland farms, the Slovenes did not share all the prosperity of Austria whose metropolis of Vienna, situated at the natural crossroads of Danubian traffic, and residence of an imperial court, showered great benefits upon the territories adjacent to it. Nevertheless, Austrians and Slovenes always got along well together, and through all the centuries of Viennese rule the latter people experienced no difficulty in preserving their Slavic identity. This circumstance in itself indicates how mild was the hand of Austria, a mildness which present day publicists are prone to deny in the interest of fortifying the Slovenes' Slavic consciousness.

The linguistic and educational experiences of the Slovenes in Austrian days are interesting in the light of present developments.

In the thirteenth century the Slovene language still possessed a legal status and was spoken at the Court of Vienna; many Slovene titled names are preserved in the records of this period. Thereafter the imperial interests of the emperors made for an increased use of German while Slovene declined to its present status of a provincial tongue.

A renaissance took place in the sixteenth century, however, Primož Trubar editing a Slovene Bible in 1551. The dialect preserved by the peasantry now was resuscitated for literary purposes. A Slovene gymnasium (secondary school) was established by imperial decree in 1563, and twelve years later the first Slovene publishing house was founded. A grammar of the Slovene language by Bohoricz was published in 1584, a translation of the whole Bible appearing in the same year.

The persistent Turkish and French threats, Venetian intrigues, and the wars of religion interfered with Slovenian cultural progress for a century and a half following this favorable beginning. In the eighteenth century Maria Theresa introduced a Slovene catechism into the schools. Joseph II had many educational books, particularly in the fields of economics and medicine, translated into Slovene. This

emperor's reign witnessed a great extension of education and literary effort in the Slovene lands.

The influence of the French Revolution following upon the heels of Joseph II's revolutionary reforms naturally produced a considerable impact upon Slovenian intellectual thought. A wealthy mine owner, Baron Cojz, was the patron of the Slovene nationalist movement in the French Revolutionary era. The first Slovene newspaper was founded at Ljubljana (Laibach) in 1797 by Vodnik, a Carniolan priest whom Cojz brought there for that purpose. This nationalist movement was not inspired with hostility towards Austria. On the contrary, the Slovenes evidenced their loyalty to Vienna at the time of the Napoleonic occupation of the country with such consistency that the invaders adopted drastic measures in dealing with them. Slovene troops in the Austrian armies enjoyed spectacular successes against the Napoleonic legions on several important occasions.

Throughout the nineteenth century the Slovenian literary movement received much encouragement from the Viennese Government.³ If the political desires of the Slovenes did not achieve an equal measure of gratification it was largely their own fault.

A Committee of the Congress of Prague in behalf of Slav nationalities in 1848 drew up a petition to the Emperor demanding formation of a Kingdom of Slovenia. This creation was to include the duchy of Carniola together with all the Slovene districts of Styria, Carinthia, and the Austrian Littoral along the Adriatic Sea. Slovenija, a Slovene society founded at Vienna under the presidency of Miklosic, a well known scholar, formulated the demand originally. Both Slovenija's resolution and the petition prepared by the Prague Committee strongly affirmed loyalty to the Austrian Crown.

Other Slovene proposals were presented to the Kremsier Diet which appointed a committee to draw up federalistic plans for Austria. Conflicting schemes were offered calling for the independence of Carniola and Carinthia, for their union with each other or with provinces

³ Great Britain Foreign Office. Historical Section. Handbook 13. *The Slovenes* (London, 1920), p. 5.

such as Istria. Slovene representatives attended the Croatian-Slavonian Diet at Zagreb also; here the cry was for the union of the Slovene territories with Croatia-Slavonia and Hungary. The dry observation, "It seemed the Slovenes did not know what they wanted themselves."⁴ adequately sums up Slovene political maneuvering at this juncture. It is hardly surprising that Vienna decided to leave the existing divisions undisturbed.

Until late in the nineteenth century Slovene-Austrian relations were excellent. Slovene was used at all times by officials in their intercourse with the people of the Slovene lands. After 1848 Carniola and Carinthia obtained the recognition of Slovene as a judicial language (*Gerichtssprache*). Another political opportunity was fumbled when Slovene deputies refused to attend the Reichsrat convoked by Beust at Vienna where the atmosphere of the moment was not unfavorable to the union of all Slovene lands.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century Slovenian nationalism was furthered by two developments. First, the literal "invasion" of the historic Slovene lands in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola by German immigrants. Second, rising Slovene-Italian hostility in Istria, Trieste, and Görz (Julijska Krajina).

The German immigrants were not Austrians with whom centuries of association and a common Catholic culture had made the Slovenes compatible. These immigrants were *Reichsdeutsch* from northern Germany, chiefly Lutherans. A bitter fight for political, commercial, and social control set in between this new element and the old inhabitants of the land.

The school and language issues naturally were the most bitterly contested points. The Gustav Adolph international society supported the German colonization, and in 1880 the *Deutscher Schulverein* began a determined campaign to establish German as the chief if not the sole language in Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola. These two powerful organizations opposed with intense bitterness the many linguistic concessions made to the Slovenes during the administration of Count Taaffe from 1879 to 1893. Introduction of Slovene into secondary

education was resented especially by the German immigrant element.

The energy, efficiency, and enterprise of the Germans threatened to secure for them political and commercial domination; like their Austrian associates the Slovenes tended to be an easy-going lot. Nevertheless in 1882 a Slovene majority was obtained in the Diet of Carniola and in the Town Council of Ljubljana. Slovene was then given the status of a recognized language (*Landessprache*) in Carniola, in the Cilli district of Styria, and in Slovene and mixed districts in Carinthia. German wrath boiled over when a new Slovene gymnasium was founded at Ljubljana, and it was at this time that agitation for union with Germany first developed; thus the groundwork for the Anschluss movement of the post-war era was laid. Chancellor Schuschnigg mentions in his reminiscences the attachment of the Germans of southern Styria to the Reich, Slovene-German hostility in this region, and German hatred of Vienna and the dynasty for favoring the Slovenes. Some of the bitterest assailants of the Habsburgs have come from this very region of which Schuschnigg speaks incidentally.

Meanwhile in the Julijska Krajina great friction had developed over the language and school issues also. The natural dividing line between the Slav and Italian populations is the Socha (Isonzo) River. East of the Socha the Austrian census of 1910 showed that there were virtually no Italians at all except in the cities of Trieste, Gorz, and Fiume (Rjeka). Trieste, a Habsburg possession since 1382, developed rapidly after Charles VI declared it a free port in 1717, especially following the decline of Venice. Splendid railroad connections and dockyards built by the Austrians brought great commercial prosperity to the city. Slovene labor built Trieste up, but the municipal administration was in Italian hands, and the Italians strenuously facilitated immigration from Italy.

In 1861 the city council enacted a law prohibiting the use of any language except Italian in the public schools. No Croat or Slovene schools whatsoever were provided; on the contrary the *Lega Nazionale* was formed for the express purpose of Italianizing children of these nationalities. A Slovene or Croat had to allow himself to be classified as Italian if he wanted to obtain employment in municipal enterprises.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Aided more or less surreptitiously by Vienna which had to keep a weather eye out to avoid provocation of the irredentist sensibilities of her Italian "ally," the Croats and Slovenes built private schools, developed commercial and financial enterprises, and founded many banks and co-operative associations. They fought the project of an Italian university at Trieste, thus helping Vienna to incur odium in Italian eyes for withholding it.

Slovene-Italian language-school squabbles in Trieste were duplicated in Istria. The west coast towns of this peninsula are Italian while the interior and the east coast is Slovene and Croat.⁵ Fishing villages until Venetian domination was succeeded by Austrian in 1797, Capodistria, Pirano, Buje, Parenzo, Rovigno, Dignano, and Pola were developed by the Austrians who established a thorough school system throughout Istria likewise.

These schools were controlled by provincial, county, and district school councils. Questions regarding the language to be used as medium of instruction in any public school was decided by the provincial council over which the governor of the province presided. The county school councils usually found the Slavs in a minority owing to the presence of large numbers of officials, who in Istria were Italian as a rule. These county councils were impowered to recommend the erection of new schools and the enlargement of old ones. Decision in any case rested with the Istrian Diet which had an Italian majority. No machinery existed whereby this body could be compelled to discharge its legal obligation of providing schools for linguistic minorities or even majorities. Until 1910 the Diet refused the Slovene demand for an increase in the number of Slovene primary schools despite the representations consistently made in favor of the Slavs by Vienna. Finally in that year the Central Government literally forced the Diet to act, thus evoking an indignant cry of "Tyranny!" from the Italians and their various sympathizers abroad.

⁵ There are also a number of Rumanians in Istria, the writer's grandfather being one of these. They have had no contact with Rumania for centuries and are Croatianized today. Some are descendants of the Wallach frontier guards who, together with the Serb and Croat *Granichari*, held the border against the Turks.

These Slovene-Italian quarrels supply adequate evidence in themselves of the frequently flimsy character of the "divide et impera" (divide and rule) allegation which is a commonplace criticism of Vienna's policies. Whatever Vienna did she could not please both the Italians and the Slovenes. Her increasing intervention in favor of the Slovenes only earned for her the enmity of the Italians while it did not satisfy the Slavs.

Nevertheless there was very little Yugoslav sentiment among the Slovenes before World War I as one of the few pro-Yugoslavs admitted: "La totalité des paysans et la bourgeoisie cléricale du Trentin, du Frioul, et de l'Istrie sont profondément attachées à l'Autriche et décident de ne pas se séparer d'elle."⁶ Istrian prosperity depended in great measure upon trade relations with interior Austria. Fear of the economic disaster that actually came after the war was one reason why most Istrians were pro-Austrian in practice whatever the nationalistic theories of their intellectuals might be.

Obviously, whatever sort of build-up their publicists want to give the Yugoslav idea today, the Slovenes were quite content to be Austrians until German—as distinct from Austrian—aggression combined with Italian provocations, and the imminent loss of the war of 1914-1918, persuaded them they would do better to put their eggs in the Yugoslav basket.

Economically this decision was disastrous for the Slovenes. In Slovenia proper a lasting economic depression was effected in the Slovene communities whose usual sheep export to Austria stopped as a result of the dislocations of 1918; timber also was affected.⁷ Austria had no funds for sheep buying and more timber of her own than she knew what to do with in consequence of her reduced foreign marketing facilities. The lot of Julijska Krajina under Italian rule was even worse.

Parenthetically it might be noted that the general Slovene tendency to accuse Austria of economic neglect is not well founded. Slovenia is poor in everything but scenery to begin with. The cause of Slovenian poverty in Austrian

⁶ Vouk Primorac, *La Question Yougo-Slave* (Paris, 1916).

⁷ The Leplay Society. T. Dudley Stamp, Editor. *Slovene Studies* (London, 1933), pp. 54-55.

days was the traditional policy of parceling out land among all members of a family. Slovene families generally are large, so for generations there just has not been enough land to go around. That, not political oppression, as some publicists would have you believe, accounts for the large emigration. The economic crisis of 1907 in America forced the return of many emigrants to the homeland where they fomented discontent. In Istria the mineral wealth of the peninsula always has been exaggerated, while the Slavs despise fishing, leaving that to the Italians. The Slovenes of Istria enjoy good living as much as their old Austrian associates; they would never save in a good year so they had nothing to fall back on in poor ones when they invariably ran into debt. Indiscriminate cutting of forest trees by the peasantry caused the washing away of much soil which further impoverished this peninsula. A commission was appointed by the Austrian government in 1888 to deal with the problem of soil erosion, and an extensive reforestation program was carried on which was beginning to show beneficial results just before the war. Many benefits accrued to the Slovenes through Austrian development of the coast towns also.

The many ties between Austria and the historic Slovene lands explain the capital upon which the Axis had to build. Jugoslavism was a political convenience to most Slovenes in the old country, although a number of Slovene-Americans have subscribed to this rather synthetic doctrine with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Prior to 1918 the Slovenes had nothing to do with the Serbs for a thousand years, if indeed they had ever been associated with them, while their relations with the Croats were purely platonic, too. Slovene dances and costumes do not resemble those of Croatia and Serbia, but are indistinguishable from the dances and costumes of the Austrian peasantry of Styria and Carinthia. Slovene music represents a transition between the folk music of southern Austria and Croatian folk music. Slovene highlanders build homes in the Austrian style, while Ljubljana, Slovenia's capital, and one of the most charming cities in Europe, is an Austrian town with a Slavic overtone. The average Slovene, up to twenty years ago at least, spoke the Austrian brand of German as well as he did his own tongue.

Only the language tie connected the Slovenes with their Slavic kinsmen, and though Slovenian is related to the Serbian and Croatian dialects it is a distinct language. Against this the Slovenes shared with the Austrians a common Catholic culture whereas the Serbs are of Orthodox faith with a culture essentially Byzantine. Austrian education over a period of centuries naturally effected a lasting influence which found graphic expression in 1919-1920 when the Slovenes of Carinthia both fought and voted in plebiscite for the privilege of remaining with Austria.

These various factors explain the cards that were available to the Axis hand in 1941. German-Italian brutality in the occupation of the Slovene lands has been able to dissipate the centuries of Austrian education and thus facilitate a reaffirmation and deepening of the Slovenes' Slavic consciousness. Yet the Slovenes are today what their educational heritage has made them—Slav Austrians, a tangible proof of the power of history to complicate naively nationalistic and racial enthusiasms.

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The Indentured Servant in Colonial America

KATHARINE L. BIEHL

Frederick, Maryland

During the colonial period a large number of people came to America as indentured servants. Many of them were English men and women. Others came from the German Palatine where English colonial proprietors had advertised the advantages of migration to America. Every English colony had some of these indentured servants, although in time more of them went to the middle colonies than elsewhere. They constituted a valuable source of labor for farms and plantations.

Indentured women were used as household servants and dairy maids; they did spinning, weaving, and even field labor. Male indentured servants who were skilled artisans such as tailors, cobblers or carpenters, were in great demand on Southern plantations as well as in workshops throughout the colonies. Others became field hands or overseers of slaves.

It was asserted by eighteenth century writers that two-thirds of the persons employed as schoolmasters in Maryland, just before the Revolution, were indentured servants, who frequently proved to have had far less education than they claimed. "Not a ship arrives," asserts Boucher in his work, *A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution*, "in which schoolmasters are not regularly advertised for sale, as weavers, tailors, or any other trade, with little difference... excepting perhaps that the former do not usually fetch so good a price as the latter."

The most common reason for indenture was the inability of a person to pay his passage to America. In such cases the shipmaster who brought him over would "sell him" for a period of five to seven years to the highest bidder. In 1715 Maryland enacted a law requiring contracts of indenture drawn up within its boundaries to provide a five-year period of service for those twenty-two years of age or over, six years of service for those between eighteen and twenty-two, and seven years for those

between fifteen and eighteen. If the person indentured was under fifteen, he or she was to serve until reaching twenty-two years of age. A fine of one thousand pounds of tobacco was the penalty for failure of an owner to take his servant to court within six months of the signing of the indenture to have his age determined. Those who were indentured as apprentices to acquire a trade usually served seven years. The same length of time or an even longer period was given to those indentured as punishment for crime.

Definite contracts of indenture were drawn up, stating the period for which the person was indentured, the items of clothing to be furnished by the master, and also the tools, musket, or clothing to be presented at the expiration of the contract period. A Maryland law, passed in 1715, required women servants at the expiration of their servitude to be furnished with "waistcoat and pettycoat of new halfe thick or penistone, a new Shift of white Linin Shoes and Stockings, a blew apron, two Caps of white Linen and three Barrells of Indian Corn." Women were often given more corn than men when they finished their service, since they were not given tools or weapons as men usually were. Often, it was stipulated that the master could not administer more than a given number of lashes in punishment. Recourse to the courts was allowed in case of breach of contract or failure of the master to provide adequate food and rest.

Many of those bound to indentured service were industrious and loyal individuals, who took up land—often given them by law—at the close of their period of service. In time, many had indentured servants of their own. Frequently they were treated as members of the family by the master, and marriage with one of the family was not infrequent.

The colonies continually protested against the policy of the British government in sending

to the colonies as indentured servants some convicted of crime. England found this plan profitable and so continued it in spite of strong opposition in America. The presence of numbers of this type of individual in the colonies has been cited as one reason for many crimes committed by indentured servants. Masters did not always know the seriousness of the crime for which a servant had been convicted. Then, too, the great shortage of labor caused people not to be very particular about the kind of servants they purchased. Of course, some of those banished to America were political offenders, who made good citizens.

One of the problems that plagued the owners of indentured servants was their propensity for running away. Especially of the class of those bound into service as a punishment was this true. The newspapers of the day always carried a column or two of advertisements regarding runaway servants. One can obtain some interesting sidelights on the problem from advertisements. In the *Maryland Gazette* of November 8, 1764, a notice had the following postscript: "N.B. She is fond of Drink and likes Sailors Company much, and all masters of vessels are forewarned against carrying her off." The following quotation from the same paper for June 25, 1752, shows the style of description used and also points to the use of ankle bands used for identification purposes in case of an attempt to escape:

Ran away from the subscriber; living in Annapolis on the 23rd of May last a Convict Servant Woman named Hannah Boyer about 23 or 24 years of age pitted much with the Small Pox, has a Scar in one of her Eye Brows, not very tall, but very strong, fresh colour'd, robust, masculine Wench. She had on and took with her a blue Jacket, an old whitish cloak, a brown Petticoat, a double Mobb, an Osnabrigs Shift, a small striped checked apron, a plaid Petticoat and Night Gown, no Shoes nor Stockings; but without doubt will change her cloathing: she had a Horse Lock and chain on one of her Legs. Whoever takes this servant and brings her home shall have 20 shillings reward.

Many of the contracts of indenture were made in England, but most often they were signed in America. In the latter part of the colonial period, especially, contracts were made

in England in favor of the shipmaster or assigns, and one might be sold any number of times during his indenture. There is ample evidence to show that considerable deception was practiced by shipmasters and others in persuading servants to come to the new World. Some individuals were kidnapped and forced into ships sailing to America. This perhaps helps to explain the large number of runaway servants.

Laws, passed in the colonies, provided penalties for servants who ran away and for anyone who aided them to escape. An act, passed in Maryland in 1715, stated that the justices of the county court where a runaway dwelt should determine the exact satisfaction to be made by the servant, not to exceed the addition of ten days of extra service for each day of absence. In many colonies, it was customary to double the time of service of any one who ran away. People who knowingly sheltered runaways could be fined and if unable to pay the fine, they might be made to undergo a period of service themselves. In many instances it was liberated Negroes or those who had completed service who aided runaways.

Among the many interesting stories to be found about these servants is the account of Sarah Wilson, indentured for crime, who masqueraded successfully as the sister of the Queen of England. A very interesting book of historical fiction based on this story has been written by Inglis Fletcher. The account which follows is taken from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1771 and from advertisements in colonial newspapers.

Queen Charlotte, wife of George III of England, was talking to the Duchess of Lancaster in the queen's apartments when an unannounced woman entered. The screams of the startled ladies frightened the intruder who had apparently thought the room empty. A page, whose attention was attracted by the commotion caught the woman, but was unable to maintain his grip. She succeeded in making her escape through the maze of rooms and corridors of the royal palace. Not long after this episode some valuable jewelry and a miniature of Queen Charlotte were missing. Investigation revealed the thief to be Sarah Wilson, personal maid of one of the ladies of the Court. The jewelry and miniature were not recovered,

but the maid was tried at Old Bailey, England, where she was sentenced to die. Her former mistress interceded and the sentence was commuted to seven years of servitude in colonial America.

In 1771 a cargo of convicts for indenture arrived at Annapolis, Maryland. Sarah Wilson was purchased by William Duvall of Bush Creek, Frederick County, Maryland. Mr. Duvall was totally unaware that his new servant had brought with her a fortune in stolen jewels.

Sarah Wilson, young, beautiful, spirited, had no intention of being a menial servant on a Mush Creek plantation. At the earliest opportunity she ran away. While William Duvall was advertising the escape of his servant and offering a reward for her recovery, Sarah Wilson was enjoying a life of luxury in Virginia under the alias of Lady Susannah Caroline Matilda, sister of Queen Charlotte. From one mansion to another "Lady Caroline" moved leisurely. She was attractive, witty, charming, and on occasions, imperious as suited one who was accustomed to court life. The former maid and indentured servant knew enough of the people and happenings at the English Court to be entirely convincing. At appropriate times she displayed the miniature of the Queen or wore one of the jewels that she had stolen. Lavish banquets, gay balls, and theatre parties were arranged for her entertainment. The British officials never doubted that she was the person she claimed to be and they gave elaborate parties in her honor.

Now and then she explained that for the moment she lacked ready cash, being afraid to carry much with her as she traveled from place to place. Liberal sums were advanced by officials and various hosts with the understanding that such loans would be promptly repaid and often with the promise that royal favors could be expected by those who helped the sister of the queen. Her clothes were made by colonial dressmakers, but since she had come from England very recently and had been familiar with the clothing worn by the ladies of the court, "Lady Caroline" was able to introduce some new styles. Her clothes and her manners became an absorbing topic of conversation. The men were captivated by her beauty and wit. Soon there were brief descriptions of

her activities in the newspapers. From Virginia she moved on to the tidewater region of the Carolinas where she spent considerable time.

Newspapers in colonial times were small and published little social news. They did not have a very wide circulation. These circumstances caused considerable time to elapse before Mr. Duvall heard much about "Lady Caroline." He listened to the gossip of friends who had seen her, or who had talked with others who had met her. His interest grew into amazed suspicion as he became convinced that "Lady Caroline" was none other than his runaway servant, Sarah Wilson. Duvall then had the following advertisement inserted in the papers:

Bush Creek, Frederick County, Maryland, October 11, 1771. Ran away from the subscriber, a convict servant named Sarah Wilson, but has changed her name to Lady Susanna Caroline Matilda, which made the public believe that she was Her Majesty's sister. She has a blemish in her right eye, black roll'd hair, stoops in the shoulders, and makes a common practice of writing and marking her clothes with a crown and a B. Whoever secures the said servant woman or will take her home, shall receive five pistoles, besides all cost of charges.

WILLIAM DUVALL.

I entitle Michael Dalton to search the city of Philadelphia and from there to Charleston for the said woman.

Cognizant of the fact that her identity had become known to her master, Sarah Wilson fled to New York and a little later to Newport where her arrival was listed in the November 29, 1773, issue of the *Newport Mercury*. Sarah tried to keep one jump ahead of those who hoped to receive a reward for her capture. Somehow she was caught, although the exact details are lacking. At any rate she was back at the Bush Creek plantation by the end of 1773. As a punishment for having run away, Sarah Wilson's term of indenture was doubled and Duvall had her strictly watched.

Menial and monotonous tasks irked the adventurous young woman, who missed the life of luxury she had led on her "royal tour." She watched for a chance to escape and planned her course of action. No scheme that she could think of seemed to hold the possibilities of the

disguise she had used previously. When at last she found an opportunity to escape a second time, her inimitable daring led her to don the role of "Lady Caroline" once more. Perhaps it was the very boldness of the scheme, probably it was the slow means of communication and the character of the newspapers, which allowed this hazardous tour to succeed for a number of months.

In Charleston, South Carolina, her identity was again discovered. A "convict servant woman," already sentenced to a double term for running away, had to be given a severe lesson

as an example to others, if nothing else. Arrested, tried, and convicted, Sarah Wilson was publicly whipped and then was returned to her master, William Duvall. Unconfirmed rumors say that she escaped for a third time. One wonders how much work Sarah ever did on the Bush Creek plantation?

While this account is more colorful than that of the lives of most indentured servants, it gives an insight into the many difficulties confronted by those who had to depend upon this type of labor in a period of our history when workers were hard to secure.

Visual and Other Aids

MAURICE P. HUNT

*Department of Education, Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio*

PURCHASING A MOTION PICTURE PROJECTOR

Most teaching films are now on sound film of 16 mm. In view of the readier availability of sound films and their greater teaching effectiveness, school buyers are interested almost exclusively in 16 mm. sound projectors.

The quality of 16 mm. projection has been greatly stepped up as a result of modern refinements. Sharp, brilliant images can now be obtained with such projectors on screens as large as 10 by 12 feet and in auditoriums seating as many as a thousand students.

Excellent 16 mm. sound projectors can be purchased for from \$300 to \$400. A sound projector normally costs about twice as much as a silent machine.

Sixteen millimeter projectors range from small, relatively light machines to large ones intended for permanent installation in a projection booth. The average school will prefer a portable machine, even though it intends to use the projector most of the time in a projection booth.

Schools planning to purchase a projector are always faced with the problem of making a selection from among several makes in a field that is highly competitive. Like the modern American automobile, it appears that any make will render satisfactory service if given good care and used for its intended purposes. Even so, manufacturers vary their models from year

to year and at any given time purchasers may find one make of machine somewhat more satisfactory than others. Schools should therefore give serious study to the purchase of a new projector, and where possible should make comparative tests of several machines.

Salesmen are likely to emphasize the value of various gadgets on their machines. It is to be expected that as projectors are improved new features of permanent value will appear. Buyers should beware, however, of the new feature that is added as a selling point, which may add more in cost and nuisance value than it is worth. Such devices as reverse mechanisms, stop-on-frame mechanisms (for showing individual frames as stills) and even automatic rewinds have been known to result in excessive film wear, or even damage. It is not likely that most users will want to dispense with the automatic rewind, but school users seldom need reverse and stop-on-frame mechanisms. Generally speaking, the simpler a machine is, the better.

In making comparative tests it is well to set up several machines for a "side by side" demonstration if possible. Or individual tests can be made of each machine and notes compared afterward.

If test results are to be truly comparative, it is obviously necessary that all machines tested be equipped with similar lenses and

illumination. In respect to the latter, the buyer should note that lamps of similar wattage, but different voltage, will illuminate the screen with different intensities. For example, a 750-watt lamp of 110 volts will produce brighter light than a 750-watt lamp of 120 or 125 volts.

In any performance test, there are key behavior characteristics to observe. Some of the most important are as follows:

(1) Using the same test reel for each machine, observe the reproduction of high-pitched and low-pitched musical selections and speech. Check for distortion with volume turned high. If possible, make these tests in both an auditorium and a classroom.

(2) Operate projector with light on but without film and observe the illuminated screen. It should be uniformly lighted and free from color at the corners.

(3) Using the same test reel in each machine, observe the projected image for horizontal and vertical movement at the edges. Image movement and flicker should be negligible. Test on both sound and silent speeds.

(4) To test the action of machine on film, run a loop of test film one hour, with the lamp on. Then inspect film for wear on sprocket holes and for scratches.

(5) During this test for film wear, check temperature of motor and working parts. Notice especially the relative temperatures of aperture gates of each machine.

In addition to the foregoing operation characteristics, a satisfactory machine should have a film take-up arm long enough to accommodate the large reels in current use. Provision for centralized oiling is also desirable though not essential. The machine should be rugged and moving parts should be enclosed insofar as is possible. Film threading should be simple. No projectors are noiseless, but certainly the buyer will want the quietest machine he can get, other things being equal. And last, the purchaser should make certain that there are adequate servicing facilities for the machine.

NEWS NOTES

The United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, N. Y., has a United Nations study kit for use in social studies classes. The kit contains twenty-three poster-charts measuring 34 by 22 inches which

present information on population, industry, commerce, agriculture, and the special features of each nation. Also included are fifteen copies of a forty-eight page pamphlet entitled "The United Nations: Today and Tomorrow," and fifteen copies of another pamphlet entitled "The United Nations: Peoples and Countries." These materials, together with a study guide, sell for \$3.50 postpaid. Individual pamphlets may be obtained for ten cents and the sets of twenty-three poster-charts for \$2.00.

Film World is a new periodical devoted exclusively to the 16 mm. non-theatrical field; it costs \$3.00 a year. Address: Film World, 6060 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood 28, California.

How to Run a Film Library is the title of a manual being published by Encyclopaedia Britannica Films (20 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6). The manual, to sell for fifty cents, will contain four sections: (1) forms and operating procedure; (2) film storage; (3) care, maintenance, and repair of films; and (4) how to offer greater technical help to the film user.

The Ohio State Museum, Columbus 10, Ohio, has a number of loan collections for use in the elementary grades. For information, write to Henry C. Shetrone, Director, The Ohio State Museum.

Prints of films distributed by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs can be purchased by all film libraries at the following prices: black and white, two cents a foot; kodachrome, \$48 for the first reel, \$24 for each 200 feet or any portion thereafter. Purchase orders should be forwarded to the Coordinator's office at 444 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y., for recording and approval, but orders should be made payable, for black and white films, to Film Service Laboratories, 630 Ninth Avenue, New York, N. Y., and for kodachrome films to Precision Laboratories, 21 West 46th Street, New York, N. Y. If you do not already have a list of CIAA films, a catalogue may be secured free of charge from the Coordinator's office.

Sources of Educational Films is a bulletin listing film sources, news bulletins, and information on educational films; you may obtain it free of charge from the Research Division, National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Write to the CIO Department of Research and Education, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Wash-

ington 6, D. C., for a list of films on labor problems. *Union Hall Films* is a thirty-two page annotated guide that may be secured from the same source for ten cents.

Write to the U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25, for *Sources of Instructional Materials on Negroes*, a mimeographed list of books, pamphlets, articles, radio scripts, transcriptions, films, plays, pictures, exhibits, and slides.

Published monthly by Educational and Recreational Guides, Inc., 172 Renner Avenue, Newark 8, N. J., is the *Film and Radio Discussion Guide*. It contains articles in the use of audio-visual teaching aids, 16 mm. exchange practices, new developments in radio education, sources of audio-visual aids, new developments in radio education, and a guide to new films of interest to schools and colleges. Price is \$2.00 a year, thirty-five cents for single copies.

Write to the Bureau of Intercultural Education, 119 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y., for information concerning the loan of a recording of a CBS broadcast entitled *Open Letter on the Detroit Race Riot*.

Social studies teachers will be interested in a recent production of Asch Records called the *Woody Guthrie Album*. It consists of three ten-inch records (six sides, three minutes a side) which can be played on the ordinary phonograph or seventy-eight r.p.m. record player; the three records may be purchased for \$2.86. Woody Guthrie is a contemporary minstrel who interprets various aspects of

American culture from the workingman's point of view.

Hometown U. S. A. (The Story of an American Community) is a recent 16 mm. sound film, two reels in length. It is based on a community study made in Glens Falls, New York, and presents many sociological and economic aspects of the community. This is an excellent film for high school social problems, economics, or American history courses. Rental charge is \$3.00 a day from the New York University Film Library, 71 Washington Square South, New York 12, N. Y. Try your state lending library first.

Another recent social studies film is *Territorial Expansion of the United States from 1783 to 1853*. This film depicts the growth of the United States, exclusive of possessions, making frequent use of animated maps. It is suitable for history or geography classes. If your local library doesn't have it, you may rent it for \$3.50 a day from the New York University Library. Another recent film in the New York University Library is entitled *Family Life of Navaho Indians*. It is a two-reel 16 mm. silent film and may be rented for \$2.50 a day.

The famous Springfield "Program of Education for Democracy" has been depicted in a film by Warner Brothers entitled *It Happened in Springfield*. It will be shown as a short in many theatres. It should also be available soon in most lending libraries. Students throughout the country should be given an opportunity to see this film.

News and Comment

LEONARD B. IRWIN

Principal, High School, Haddon Heights, New Jersey

THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

With the signing of the Charter for the United Nations this summer, the United States formally entered on a new path in its history. We have for the first time undertaken to be a full member of a world organization, involving responsibilities of which we are not yet fully aware. We have taken the step, and there is no question that it is essential to do all in our power to make the Charter work, whether we all believe it to be what we had hoped for

or not. Any support less than our best would be foolhardy and faithless.

Yet that fact does not mean that the Charter as it is must be permanently accepted without change or improvement. As people throughout the world become accustomed to the idea of global responsibility, and as the actual workings of the United Nations organization become more familiar, its faults and merits will be more apparent.

In the meantime, there is still a place for

open and fair discussion, for only by general agreement on the need for its success can that success ever come. Like any other institution, it will be supported by popular enthusiasm only if the people understand it and feel a positive need for it. Public comprehension of the subject is important, therefore, and it is to be hoped that there will continue to be much written about the Charter. The September number of two national magazines, for example, carried excellent articles on the Charter, one supporting it and one opposing it.

In the *Survey Graphic*, Dr. James T. Shotwell wrote on the "interdependent world," and pointed out that the Charter recognizes this interdependence by seeking to bring nations together to attack the basic causes of war—want, ignorance, inequality, injustice. The Charter is based on the conviction that these things are the concern of the world, not merely of each individual nation; and the member states are pledged to cooperate in actively supporting the four Freedoms. Dr. Shotwell praised the new organization as a symbol of international awareness that war can be prevented only when its basic causes are eliminated.

On the other hand, a very interesting article in the *Atlantic Monthly* by Cord Meyer, Jr., attacked the Charter as completely avoiding the real issue. The author, a young veteran who was one of Commander Stassen's aides at San Francisco, agreed with Dr. Shotwell in emphasizing the interdependence of nations, and the necessity for rooting out the causes of war. But he insisted that the fundamental cause was one which the United Nations Charter did not and cannot touch—complete national sovereignty.

The cycle of increasingly destructive wars in which we are caught is the direct and inevitable result of the attempt to prolong the political system of absolute national independence under changing conditions that make it increasingly unworkable.

Mr. Meyer believes that international security cannot be achieved without the creation of a superstate to which each nation gives up some of its sovereign power. Anything less is but wishful thinking—agreements dependent entirely on the degree to which every nation can be counted upon to act in an idealistically unselfish manner. In his article, Mr. Meyer

pointed to several of the weaknesses of the Charter, all of which stem from the jealous maintenance of sovereignty. Particularly he condemned the veto system, whereby the refusal of one member of the Security Council to concur can prevent any punitive action against an aggressor, even though that one member may itself be the offending power.

It is worth while here to repeat Dr. Shotwell's reference to the very important booklet containing the text of the Charter and the American delegation's report and commentary on it to the President. Dr. Shotwell said that it was a manual "which should be in the hands of all students of international relations." Those wishing to secure a copy may purchase it from the Superintendent of Documents at the Government Printing Office in Washington. The price is 45 cents, and it is designated as Department of State Publication 2349, Conference Series 71. It is also worth noting the following passage from the commentary, which points up Mr. Meyer's position:

The success or failure of the United Nations will in the last analysis depend not upon the terms of the Charter, but upon the willingness of members to meet their responsibilities. . . . Only the member states, by their conduct, can assure success.

It is impossible to call attention to all the provocative articles on the Charter and the future of the world. But it would be quite unfair not to mention Norman Cousins' editorial in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for August 18, entitled, "Modern Man is Obsolete." It was called forth by the appearance of the atomic bomb, and presents most vividly the dilemma which man now faces. He must now readjust his way of life enough to remove that fiercely competitive spirit that has caused war, or he must face utter destruction at his own hands. He must accept the fact that this is one world, and men must be world-citizens, or die:

He shall have to recognize the flat truth that the greatest obsolescence of all in the Atomic Age is national sovereignty.

Mr. Cousins holds that nothing but a world state can now prevent war. Atomic energy, far from preventing war, will breed it, for as long as its secret remains available to sovereign nations, the temptation to use it, or the fear

that a rival may use it, will accentuate bitterness, suspicion and ambition. Mr. Cousins' thesis and presentation of it form one of the most powerful arguments for a new world yet to appear in print.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

The High School Journal, published by the Department of Education of the University of North Carolina, has been devoting recent issues to the general subject of secondary education in the South. The project is part of the sesquicentennial celebration of the University. The various papers that make up the series together form an excellent picture of Southern high school education. In the March-April number, there were four contributions.

Leon E. Cook, head of the department of Agricultural Education of North Carolina State College, edited a paper on the Federal Government and vocational education in the South. It gave a summary of the progress which is being made in this field with Federal assistance, and took up each phase of it in more detail for North Carolina, as a fairly representative Southern state. As Professor Cook wrote:

The South has been a very fertile field for vocational education, because it has needed it, has believed in it, and has been most responsive in accepting the opportunities which Federal assistance made possible.

A paper by Frances Lander Spain of Winthrop College dealt with high school libraries in the South. It indicated that there had been tremendous progress in this field in the past fifteen years, but many schools still fall short of the standards of the Southern Association. Professor J. Minor Gwynn of the department of education of the University wrote on trends in curriculum development, and James S. Tippet contributed a paper on system-wide curriculum revision. Such studies of educational conditions in a specific area are of real interest and value.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF LATIN AMERICA

In the *American Political Science Review* for June appeared a group of six outstanding articles with the general title, "Latin America Looks to the Future." They treated various aspects of the politics and government of the southern republics, and should be of genuine interest to any student of Pan American affairs.

The new Office of American Republic Affairs, established in January, 1944, was discussed in one article by Graham H. Stuart of Stanford University. Professor Charles G. Fenwick's paper on the inter-American regional system is particularly interesting because of the parallels that were drawn between it and the United Nations Organization. Professor Fenwick analyzed our regional system on this basis, discussing the principles, purposes, form of organization, methods of settling disputes and other features which have been formally put in the United Nations Charter. Parliamentary government in Latin America was the subject treated by William S. Stokes of Northwestern. This was of interest because parliamentary control has never been the political rule in Latin America, where the strong executive is usually the common characteristic. Experience appears to indicate that the system of separation of powers contributed to this executive omnipotence, and that the cabinet system offers the most favorable means of true popular control in Latin America.

Other papers in the symposium were "The Brazilian Program of Administrative Reform," by Henry Reining, Jr., of the National Institute of Public Affairs; "Constitutional Development in Latin America," by Russell H. Fitzgibbon of UCLA; and "The Role of Latin America in Relation to Current Trends in International Organization," by Arthur P. Whitaker, of the University of Pennsylvania.

THE PROBLEM OF ALASKA

Since the West grew up and the territorial governments there came into the Union as states, the question of territorial policy has become rather a thorny one. The Western territories presented comparatively few serious difficulties. It was recognized that they would become states as soon as population growth warranted the step. Territorial governments were usually easy, except as they were temporarily complicated by such factors as slavery, Mormonism, and the Indians. Generally the government took whatever steps seemed desirable to promote the settlement of territories, and their transformation into states. The process approached the automatic.

Since the admission of Arizona in 1912, however, the territorial question has developed new angles. Hawaii and Puerto Rico have pro-

vided many a Congressional headache and the problem of how to deal with them in the future is still unsettled. Of Alaska, on the other hand, much less had been heard until the war made it a vital defense area. To most Americans, it remained a vacant, Arctic waste with few matters of importance requiring our attention.

This view was sharply challenged in an article entitled, "Alaska: Our Deep Freeze," by Louis R. Huber in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September. Mr. Huber pointed out that although Seward's purchase of the territory in 1867 had been generally criticized at the time, the wealth subsequently derived from it had long since silenced the critics. Of our three major territories, Alaska probably is the one which most Americans would agree most properly should remain American.

Yet, as Mr. Huber pointed out, Alaska has in many respects received cavalier treatment. Although it is capable of supporting a far greater population, it has but 80,000 inhabitants nearly eighty years after becoming an American possession. He attributes this backward condition chiefly to two factors: the high cost of transportation within the territory, and strict Federal regulation of coal and timber resources. The Alaska Railroad was completed in 1923, connecting the interior with tidewater, but Congress insisted that the railroad be immediately self-supporting. This caused rates to be abnormally high, and was in sharp contrast to Congressional generosity toward many Western roads.

Mr. Huber also referred to the efforts of the conservationists in the early 1900's causing most of the coal and timber resources to be kept off the market, and he attributes this in part to the desire of Pennsylvania coal interests to avoid competition. The effect was naturally to discourage individual enterprise in the area, and restrict settlement. Mr. Huber believes that some of the deterrents to growth would be removed by the establishment of a state government, and he points out that a number of our western states were admitted to the Union with less than Alaska's present population.

DEALING WITH THE VETERAN

It is quite possible that the civilian population is more concerned and puzzled about the proper treatment of veterans than the veterans

are themselves. The multiplicity of agencies may easily become a source of considerable confusion. Not the least of the factors which often become an annoyance to the individual veteran is the attitude taken toward him by well-meaning friends and relatives. There are many solicitous and pessimistic persons ready to see in every returned service man a potential psychiatric case.

The veteran's point-of-view on this situation was explained in the *American Mercury* for September in an article entitled "Veterans Are Not Problem Children," by T/Sgt, David Dempsey, USMC. Sergeant Dempsey strongly urged civilians to treat veterans as normal persons, and to expect normal reactions from them. He pointed out that it was only natural that they would have changed in some respects, but not necessarily more so than could be expected of any experience as educational as theirs. Veterans as individuals will be no more rude or overbearing than it was their nature to be before they went into service; most of them will be only too glad to return to the customs and manners of ordinary social intercourse as they once knew them. Nor will they, as some people think, have lost their individuality and initiative because of the regimentation of life in the service. Service regulations are not that stultifying, and moreover, a very considerable number of men were specialists in some capacity, no matter how minor; hence they had a certain amount of freedom of action. This was not a war of mechanical men.

Sergeant Dempsey also refuted the theory that veterans will be bored with civilian routine and will crave excitement; he also denied the idea that the serviceman will have become so used to violence that crime will become rampant. He pointed out that only one in five saw actual combat, and that even those came to regard it merely as a job to be done, rather than as a new way of life. Without question there will be some maladjusted men discharged from service without being detected by the authorities, but most men will take their normal places in society rather easily, provided they are not made the subject of misplaced solicitude and morbid curiosity.

THE POSTWAR COLLEGE

The views of a distinguished educator on reconversion in the colleges were well pre-

sented in the September *Survey Graphic* by C. Mildred Thompson, Dean of Vassar College. Miss Thompson considered the effects which wartime acceleration programs might have in changing the college schedule permanently. She urged most particularly that we do not return to the old concept of a four-year, thirty-two-weeks a year, general education course. She believes that young people will face a sterner world requiring a more rigorous and purposeful college training, and that the liberal arts, or general education course, should be reduced to three years with much shorter vacations. She pointed out that the traditional schedule dated from a more leisurely era, when most college students came from the ranks of the wealthy, and had little need for economizing time.

The higher secondary school standards of today also make it practicable to reduce the time spent in college on general education. Miss Thompson does not agree with those who claim that young people need four years of college in order to mature them sufficiently for vocational or specialized training. Her view is that maturity has little relation to time or age, but depends rather on experience and responsibilities; young people can really do much more than we have ever demanded of them. "People are as mature as society demands that they be." The war has proved this to be true, and our educational system will undoubtedly come to recognize it sooner or later.

AMERICAN STUDIES

There is a growing realization in education that the study of American history and institutions has not been emphasized to a sufficient degree in our schools and colleges. There is likewise a feeling that the war has made an international point-of-view necessary for our people. These concepts have been reflected in many ways and not the least of these is the revision of curricula in some of our colleges. It was already felt by many educators that the free elective system of studies did not give the student a well-organized education. Such institutions as St. Johns, Chicago, and the University of Maryland have received much attention for their innovations.

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June devoted a number of pages to the revised curriculum of Augustana College, which has set

up several interdivisional major fields of interest, each with a set of related core subjects required of all students in that major. The *Review's* article dealt principally with the major field called American Studies, which seeks to give the student both a familiarity with American history and thought, and an understanding of international relationships as an antidote to isolationism. Included in it are courses in American history and government, literature, the history of democratic thought, the European background of America, and so forth.

There is much to be said for such a program. The student who follows it may not get as wide a sampling of general education, but he can scarcely fail to acquire a real and permanent understanding of the world he lives in, and especially of the United States as a member of it. Dilettantism in education is difficult to justify and educators will generally approve any effort to train and direct the inquiring mind. Educational browsing is an expensive and often a non-productive luxury.

EDUCATION

The annual Education number of the *Saturday Review of Literature* appeared September 15. Besides the reviews of books pertaining to the field, teachers will find the leading articles well worth reading. Perhaps the high standards of the SRL give a sort of polish and glitter to topics which would reflect less brightly in some of the more stodgy of our professional periodicals. Whatever it may be, the articles are refreshing.

In "Mohammed and the Mountain," Walter N. Knittle described the outstanding work New York City is doing in adult education, through City College and the Public Library. Evening classes for adults are being conducted by the college in various branches of the library throughout the city. The subject matter offered is that which proved most popular on the basis of a questionnaire; learning to speak a foreign language is most in demand. The classes cover an eight-week term, meeting one or two evenings a week. Popular interest is steadily increasing. The principal drawback is that a fee of from six to twenty dollars must be charged for each course, since the city has as yet provided no funds for the purpose.

The program is one which may well be util-

ized in cities much smaller than New York or Philadelphia, where a similar arrangement, called "The Junto," has been in operation for four years. The values to be derived go far beyond what academic knowledge may be disseminated. There are millions of adults to whom a chance to work at something completely different from their normal routine would prove an extremely valuable social and psychological aid.

Another phase of adult education—that sponsored by labor unions for their members—was discussed in an article by Mark Starr. A number of unions, notably the ILGWU, have for some years conducted study and recreational classes. Some maintain libraries or sponsor a yearly book club. Dramatics, visual aids, lectures, forums, radio and periodicals are all being used by unions for educational purposes, either to sell the labor point-of-view or simply to give the worker the cultural opportunities which otherwise may have been denied him. As the unions become more socially-minded the latter purpose will undoubtedly grow more common, for wise union leaders will realize that the welfare of the worker in every respect is essential to the welfare of the union.

There is not space here to discuss the other excellent articles in this issue of the *Saturday Review*. The authors include Harry J. Carman, Frank Tannenbaum, Ordway Tead, Stephan Duggan, and Alvin Johnson. After reading what they have written, one is more convinced than ever that education is truly the most important duty of any government.

READING PROBLEMS

The *Peabody Journal of Education* for July was devoted almost entirely to a series of articles on the subject of retarded readers. Several annotated lists of suitable books for young children, an account of the use of picture charts as an aid in teaching grammar, and a report on an adult class of retarded readers who were brought to a marked stage of improvement, were among the items presented.

INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

Many persons may not be familiar with that little periodical, *International Conciliation*, which is issued ten times a year by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th St., New York 27, N. Y. (25 cents a year). Although small, it contains much valuable material pertaining to international

affairs. The issue for June, for example, included an explanatory article and the text of the Constitution of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. The FAO will unquestionably be one of the most active and important of the agencies of the United Nations, for the problem of feeding the hundreds of millions of poverty-stricken people in the world is one that cannot longer be safely left to chance, if world peace is to be secure.

The June number also reprints a brief vigorous editorial from the *New York Times* condemning the constitutional provision giving a minority of the Senate power over treaty ratification, and urging an amendment to vest this power in a majority of each house. Also reprinted in this issue are President Truman's first address to Congress, and the address which the late President Roosevelt was to have given on April 13 in observance of Jefferson Day.

NEW PERIODICALS

In August there appeared the first issue of *Veterans Outlook*, a new monthly magazine directed toward discharged service men and women. It is published by Public Affairs Press, 2153 Florida Ave., Washington 8, D. C., and costs four dollars a year. Besides articles on various matters of interest to veterans, it contains news items, sections on job opportunities, business openings, educational guidance, government activities pertaining to veterans, and matters concerning veterans' organizations. It appears to be an undertaking that should find favor among those to whom it is addressed, for there is definite need for such a periodical clearing-house of information for veterans.

Another new periodical in the field of current problems is the *Journal of Social Issues*, published by the Association Press, 347 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y. It will appear quarterly, and the subscription rate is two dollars a year. Its field may be described as social psychology in popular terms. The first two issues will be devoted to a single general topic, "Racial and Religious Prejudice in Everyday Living," and the treatment is by means of a series of concrete case studies, analyzed by a number of well-known social scientists. Subsequent issues are announced as dealing with the re-education of persons with anti-social tendencies, and the psychological problems of bureaucracy.

MEETING

The Middle States Council for the Social Studies will hold its fall meeting in cooperation with the Convention of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York, on November 23 and 24, 1945. The meetings of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies will be held on Saturday, November 24, 1945, at

10.30 A.M. and 2 P.M. The subject for the morning meeting will include a discussion of the *Harvard Report* as it applies to the social sciences. Professor Dwight C. Miner, Department of History, Columbia University, will be the speaker. The afternoon meeting will be led by Dr. Walter E. Myer of Washington, D. C. Owing to labor problems there will be no luncheon meeting.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by IRA KREIDER

Abington High School, Abington, Pennsylvania

The Selected Work of Tom Paine. Edited by Howard Fast. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945. Pp. 338. \$3.50.

The Complete Jefferson; Containing His Major Writings, Published and Unpublished, Except His Letters. Assembled and arranged by Saul K. Padover. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943. Pp. 1322. \$5.00.

It becomes apparent, month by month, that the post-war years will see a greater emphasis on American history and on the problems of democracy. The *New York Times* and Professor Nevins would have us teach *more* American history; others maintain a more realistic attitude and argue that the solution lies in *better* teaching rather than in an unnecessary increase in quantity. The New Jersey legislature has passed a law to increase the amount of American history taught in the senior high school; intelligent teachers and administrators almost at once will find ways in interpreting the law which will result in an increase which is chiefly qualitative. If there is going to be an improvement in the quality of the American history—and problems of democracy—offered to secondary school students throughout the country, there must be not only the obvious improvement in teaching methods, but also, and this is less often recognized, a tremendous improvement and enlargement of library facilities. These volumes provide an inexpensive means for school libraries to make available two of the more important entrances to our revolutionary thought and spirit.

Mr. Fast, author of *Citizen Tom Paine*, includes in his volume all of "Common Sense,"

and parts of the "Crisis" papers, "Rights of Man," and "The Age of Reason." He also includes Paine's famous letter to Washington, written from his prison cell in France. Mr. Fast is not an objective historian; his appraisal of the Federalists is neither sound nor well reasoned. Yet this very weakness can, in the hands of a competent teacher interested in demonstrating objectivity or the lack of it, become an asset. Students with the ability and the interest to dig into sources should have access to "Common Sense" and "The Crisis."

Dr. Boyd and the Princeton University Press are preparing a complete edition of Jefferson's writings. It will include all of his letters as well as many of the letters written to him, and will run to perhaps fifty volumes. Excellent, and probably definitive, as this will be, its size and expense will place it beyond the reach of most school libraries. Thus the present volume, including all of Jefferson's major writings except his letters, should be a valuable book for teachers and school librarians for many years to come.

Excellent arrangement and a usable index enhance the volume's value. Some students will be interested in the evidences of Jefferson's wide range of interests and in his skill at many trades and professions. All students will benefit from a contact, however casual, with one of the great liberals and democrats of all time, a man who saw not only the value of free institutions but who realized the difficulties of maintaining them.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

United States Coast Guard Groton, Connecticut

Apostle of Democracy. By Louise Fargo Brown. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1944. Pp. 315. \$3.50.

What does democracy mean to you? What can you do to make democracy a vital force in your community, be it large or small? In these days when the word "democracy" is being so freely used in speech and press, too few people have a clear or adequate answer to the first question, and fewer still do much about the second. It is heartening, then, to read about one woman who, out of her own experience, study and thinking, developed a clear concept of the meaning of democracy and who made it come to life in her relationships as teacher and scholar.

In *Apostle of Democracy*, Louise Fargo Brown tells how one unusual but very human person, Lucy Maynard Salmon, beloved and outstanding professor of history at Vassar College, felt the need for making democracy the way of life in all matters in which she participated, and restlessly sought means of practicing the beliefs to which she gave constant utterance. Lucy Maynard Salmon (1853-1927) lived in a period of great transition, a period in which discussion was rife on women's rights and on educational reform. Women were seeking the right to vote, the right to equal educational opportunity, the right to free admission to all occupations and the right to equal pay for equal services. Education was then, and too often is still, formal and well nigh sterile. Administration of education was generally autocratic. Teachers worked under plans and policies in the forming of which they had no part. Students seldom had any part in the management of their own student affairs. To the extent that these matters are better today, to the extent that democracy has filtered into educational affairs, albeit painfully slowly, thanks are due to Lucy Maynard Salmon, pioneer in everyday democracy, and to others of her sensitivity and vision.

With the sure hand of the artist, the author has drawn the picture of the growth of a fine personality, tracing the factors that created that personality in all its strength—the Puritan ancestry, the colonial pioneers, the vigorous family life in western New York State, the democracy found at the University of Michigan in the fourth decade of its existence,

the impact of the crises during Grant's administration of national affairs, her experiences as a high school and college teacher, the long career in the Vassar faculty, European travel and study—all combining to create a teacher of rare insight, a scholar who could inspire in others a passion for intellectual honesty, a highly sensitive friend and leader of youth.

It is true that Miss Salmon did most of her teaching at the college level. She was, however, one of those few who saw clearly the essential unity of the whole educational process. At the college level she was deeply aware of the problems and of the importance of secondary education and contributed definitely to the improvement of high school teaching.

As a student, Lucy Maynard Salmon was glad to find that grades were not given in classes at the University of Michigan. Throughout her life she contended that students should work, not for grades or other rewards, but for the satisfactions that come from achievement. A hundred years ahead of her time! The giving of grades and credits is still one of the hazy spots in educational thinking.

Still more upsetting to the conservatives was her attack upon the common, formal type of examination, too often still in use today. Quoted examples of her examinations might well furnish teachers of this generation with a stimulus toward an improved pattern.

Significant for us today is the disturbance that she felt over America's adventure into imperialism following the Spanish-American War. She knew that her stand was unpopular but she felt that the long course history showed that she was right.

During a residence in France, the Dreyfus case challenged her attention; she was "heart sick—over the Dreyfus decision."

The vigor of her mind was turned upon Civil Service Reform, upon the problems of domestic help, upon the changes needed to bring about articulation and coordination between the secondary schools and the colleges, upon the values of coeducation, and many similar problems. "Loyalty to the principles of educational democracy" led her to refuse an election to Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Michigan!

That all her drive for change and reform was not unavailing is amply attested. One in-

stance: A local paper in 1914 said "the influence of Miss Salmon has gradually permeated Vassar College to such an extent that the conservative administration of the last two decades has for some time been doomed to fall." Similar results followed in other fields where she had raised her protesting voice.

Lucy Maynard Salmon was one woman—timid, feminine and scholarly—who found her answer to the meaning of democracy and found ways to make democracy vital and effective. If we expect democracy to survive, can any of us afford to do less?

ARTHUR GOULD

Former Deputy Superintendent of Schools
Los Angeles, California

The Condition of Man. By Lewis Mumford.
New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944. Pp. x, 467. \$5.00.

This is the third volume in the series of which *Technics and Civilization* and *The Culture of Cities* were the earlier books. The author considers it first in importance. The purpose of this study is "to give a rounded interpretation of the development of modern man, and to show what changes in his plan of life are necessary if he is to make the most of the vast powers that are now his to command—provided he be strong enough, wise enough, virtuous enough, to exercise command."

To this task Mr. Mumford brings the fruits of long years of research. The result is a brilliant survey of western civilization, which shows the forces that have helped and those which have hindered the development of human personality. Today we are in one of the great crises of civilization. The important question is whether we are about to enter a new age of "barbarism" that will reject those parts of our culture which have ministered to man's higher needs or whether we can find a "method that will assert the primacy of the person and that will re-endow the person with all its attributes, all its heritage, all its potentialities."

The author emphasizes the importance of the human factor in any movement for social betterment. "Today our best plans mis-carry because they are in the hands of people who have undergone no inner growth." Again he warns that the burden of personal regeneration can not be cast upon "a president, a

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pope, a dictator,"...but, "Each man and woman must silently assume his own burden." Finally, "We must simplify our daily routine without waiting for ration cards: we must take on public responsibility without waiting for conscription; we must work for the unity and effective brotherhood of man without letting further wars prove that the current pursuit of power, profit, and all manner of material aggrandizement is treason to humanity: treason and national suicide. Year by year we must persevere in all of these acts, even though restrictions are lifted and the urgencies of war have slackened. Unless we now rebuild ourselves all of our external triumphs will fail."

It is hard to see how there can be much disagreement with the author's conclusions. Furthermore, this thorough survey of the "purposes and ends of human development" is of vital interest to all those concerned with the future of a society whose very bases are being challenged.

WALTER H. MOHR

The George School
George School, Pennsylvania

Story of Nations. By Lester B. Rogers, Fay Adams, and Walker Brown. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1945. Pp. xxiii, 814, xx. Illustrated. \$2.60.

The new edition of a popular textbook continues the direct, simple style of earlier editions. The nations are presented separately with the central theme of their interdependence as before.

New features include the extensive integration of geography throughout the book. A three dimensional map is at the beginning of each of the twenty-two parts. The story of each nation opens with its geographic features, physical and economic, and their influences.

A section on the Buffer States, the Balkans, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Turkey, has been added. The Americas receive a fuller treatment and the story of each modern nation has been carried to the late 1930's. The last section, "Two World Wars," with its story of national rivalries and world conflict, ends with a plea for a permanent peace.

IRA KREIDER

PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

Edited by R. J. SOLIS-COHEN
Philadelphia, Pa.

Common Errors in History. By Members of the Historical Association. General Series G 1. London: P. S. King and Staples Limited 14, Great Smith Street, S.W. 1, 1945. Pp. 24. Price to non-members, 1s. 1d. (post free). Members may obtain extra copies at 7d. each (post free) from the offices of the Association, 29 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

In this pamphlet the members of the Historical Association deal with twenty common historical mistakes. Some of these directly misstate facts, others misinterpret or state half-truths. For example, one mistake is the frequent use of the title of the Prince of Wales for the native princes before Llewelyn the Last. The idea that educated men contemporary with Columbus believed that the earth was flat is an error for which the authors hold Washington Irving responsible. At the conclusion of each discussion, correct authorities are cited.

Race Riots Aren't Necessary. By Alfred Mc-

Clung Lee. American Council on Race Relations. Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 107. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1945. Pp. 31. 10 cents.

The prevention of race riots is the purpose of this pamphlet. Two programs are suggested. The first is an emergency ten-point program which advises how to spot the danger signals preceding rioting and how to take prompt and effective action in a riot. The second program outlines long-term plans to foster better intergroup relations.

Youth and Your Community. By Alice C. Weitz. Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 108. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1945. Illustrated. Pp. 31. 10 cents.

Youth and Your Community was prepared in cooperation with the Youth Conservation Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The responsibility for wartime juvenile delinquency is placed upon the adults. The remedy for this disastrous situation is developing community recreation for young people, providing opportunities for young people to become active, responsible citizens in their home towns.

After Victory. By Vera Micheles Dean. Headline Series No. 50. January 1945. New York 16, N. Y.: Foreign Policy Association, 1945. Illustrated by Graphic Associates. Pp. 96. 25 cents.

The author, who is Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association, discusses security and the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. She also presents the Dumbarton Oaks Document and a useful list of suggested reading.

Only by Understanding. By William G. Carr. Headline Series No. 52. May-June 1945. New York 16, N. Y.: Foreign Policy Association, 1945. Pp. 96. 25 cents.

The theme of this pamphlet is the need for establishing a world agency that would foster, throughout the world, young people's understanding of other peoples, good international relations and good will to all men. It is not enough to foster an aversion to war in some countries, e.g. the United States and Great Britain, and permit war mongers to flourish in others, e.g. Germany and Japan.

Precedents for educational international cooperative effort may be found in the writings of Comenius, Marc-Antoine Jullien, Möelken-

boer, and finally of Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews of Boston. The last named came nearest to the attainment of the goal.

Some of the organizations sponsoring international activities in education include the International Bureau of Education, The Cultural Relations Office of the U. S. Department of State, and the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the U. S. Department of State. The author advocates an international association of voluntary and private organizations. He also believes that the statesmen of the United Nations should sponsor an International Office of Education and Cultural Development which should, among other duties, detect and counteract tendencies educating for aggression and war.

Education is considered an important element in solving the problem of international justice, security and peace.

The Consequences for America of Acceptance or Rejection of the United Nations Organization. By Livingston Hartley. New York 21, N. Y.: American Association for the United Nations, Inc., 1945. Pp. 31. 10 cents.

This pamphlet explains the need for the United States' participation in the world machinery for international security. Quoting President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the writer concludes:

There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict.

Geographic School Bulletins. Washington, D. C.: Published Weekly by the National Geographical Society. 25 cents.

These bulletins were resumed on October 1 for the 1945-1946 school year. They provide accurate, up-to-date material on places, peoples, industries, commodities, national boundaries and government changes, and scientific developments in the news. Each of the thirty weekly issues will continue to contain five articles and seven illustrations or maps.

Presented simply, briefly and with charm, these bulletins encourage the reader to their continued use.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED
American Political and Social History. By Harold Underwood Faulkner. New York:

J. S. Crofts and Company, 1945. Pp. xx, 838. Illustrated. \$4.00.

A revision of a popular college textbook with a rewriting of the last three chapters on the period since 1932. The chapter reading lists and the general bibliography are brought up-to-date.

The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp. By Alexander H. Leighton. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. xvi, 404. Illustrated. \$3.75.

Under the sponsorship of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, the author makes observations on the Japanese Relocation Center at Poston, Arizona, and draws principles for the successful working of human relationships of people under stress.

Europe Since 1914. By F. Lee Benms. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1945. Pp. xviii, 672. Illustrated. \$4.00.

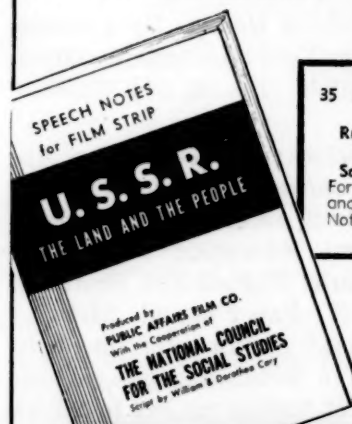
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The Ladder of History. By Upton Close and Merle Burke. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. xiii, 825. Illustrated. \$2.80.

A school world history text. Part One gives a chronological survey of the story of man from the earliest time to the present. Part Two is a topical account of the cultural and economic progress of man.

Our Good Neighbors in Soviet Russia. By Wallace West and James P. Mitchell. New York: Noble and Noble, Publishers, Inc., 1945. Pp. ix, 273. Illustrated.

Written to give young people a better understanding of Russia.

Crossroads for Penelope. By Mary Wolfe Thompson. New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1945. Pp. 264. \$2.00.

The story of Penelope's work with animals is a girl's book.

Teaching Through Radio. By William B. Levenson and I. Keith Tyler. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1945. Pp. viii, 474. Illustrated. \$3.00.

The author, the supervisor of radio in the Cleveland public school system, presents the techniques and basic information for the more effective use of educational radio programs.

Years of Victory, 1802-1812. By Arthur Bryant. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. Pp. xii, 468. \$4.00.

A history of the English people in action in a decade similar to the present one.

Son of Thunder: Patrick Henry. By Julia M. H. Carson. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945. Pp. ix, 244. \$2.50.

A biography.

They See for Themselves: A Documentary Approach to Intercultural Education in the High School. By Spencer Brown. Bureau for Intercultural Education Publication Series. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. Pp. ix, 147. Paper bound. \$1.25

The report is based on an experiment in eleven high schools in which a group of students conducted a fact-finding project to collect material that was used for a documentary play.

Experimental Sociology: A Study in Method. By Ernest Greenwood. New York: King's

Crown Press, 1945. Pp. xiii, 163. Paper bound. \$2.25.

A treatment of the field of experimental sociology with a specific evaluation of the ex post facto technique.

From Democracy to Nazism: A Regional Case Study on Political Parties in Germany. By Rudolf Heberle. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1945. Pp. ix, 130. \$2.50.

An analysis of the causes of the growth of the Nazi regime.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933, OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES, published monthly, October to May inclusive, at Philadelphia, Pa., for September 25, 1945.

State of Pennsylvania,
County of Philadelphia,

Before me, a notary public in and for said State and County aforesaid, personally appeared William Martin, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of THE SOCIAL STUDIES, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is.....

(This information is required from daily publications only.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1945.
WILLIAM MARTIN

(My commission expires March 23, 1947.)
ELIZABETH McSHEA

The Social Studies

Volume XXXVI, Number 8

Continuing The Historical Outlook

December, 1945

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HERBERT WING, JR.
*Dickinson College
Carlisle, Pa.*

LANCY O. DEVERS
*University of Alabama
University, Ala.*

HOMER T. KNIGHT
*Garfield High School
Seattle, Wash.*

ROY F. NICHOLS
*University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa.*

THOMAS WOODY
*University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa.*

WIN A. ECKHAUSER
*De Witt Clinton Junior
High School
Mount Vernon, N. Y.*

DANIEL C. KNOWLTON
*Cazenovia Junior College
Cazenovia, N. Y.*

CHARLOTTE M. NOTEBOOM
*University of South Dakota
Vermilion, S. D.*

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From the Eagle's Nest

GEORGE GREY BARNARD, the American sculptor, used always to speak of the fertile prairies and river-lands of the Middle West as "the eagle's nest of our democracy." There Abraham Lincoln was born and raised, and there became the great champion of the kind of freedom that has brought us to world leadership.

He knew the value of education because he was denied its advantages. All told he figured that between his eighth and fifteenth birthdays he had twelve months of schooling, and that primitive. And he, as few others, knew the value of reading, for his thoughtful perusal of a few good books laid the foundation for his supreme service in saving our form of government.

"One of the first, and certainly one of the most important duties of every school teacher today is the planting of Lincoln's sort of Americanism in the hearts and minds of our youth," says Dr. Vernon L. Nickell, State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois, adopted state of the Great Emancipator. "As guides to the understanding and appreciation of his concept of government of, by and for the people, our teachers—whether in one-room or high schools and colleges—carry a responsibility second to none. Now, in the confusion of war's aftermath, they must sense as never before the need for their leadership in classroom development of good citizenship.

"I feel that the School Edition of The Reader's Digest should be classed among the valuable mediums for aiding this vital task allotted them. It is, in effect, a bridge between textbook information and the actual working-out of our principles and ideals in everyday life. It presents so many phases of our republican form of government in action, and so clearly sets forth the soundest of our social and political ideals that it helps to prepare our youth not only for support of these, but for protecting them against the efforts of subversive groups to take advantage of inevitable postwar confusion."

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